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International Affairs

The Conference on Yugoslavia in London concluded on 27 August, the London PRESS ASSOCIATION reports. UK Prime Minister John Major hailed "the significant progress" made at the conference, "but warned the warring parties that the international community would not rest until they stuck to their word." Major also name Dr. David Owen as the EC's chief peace envoy.

TANJUG reports that the Conference on Yugoslavia adopted "special decisions applicable to the territory of Bosnia-Hercegovina." One "stipulates an immediate stop to all violence in the territory of that former Yugoslav republic and the soonest possible lifting of sieges and blockade of towns," and a "second calls for the establishment of international supervision of heavy weapons in Bosnia-Hercegovina, and the placing under control of the paramilitary forces of all warring sides in order to prevent a further escalation of the confict."

Hungary

MTI reports that Foreign Minister Geza Jeszenszky returned to Budapest following the Conference on Yugoslavia. Jeszenszky described a declaration on Bosnia and a document adopted by the conference as "sensational." He noted: "The London conference may well mark a turning point, since the adopted documents contain not only concrete measures for resolving the south Slav crisis, but also guarantee their implementation."

Czechoslovakia

Czech Prime Minister and Civic Democratic Party chairman Vaclav Klaus stated that "he thinks it will be possible to ensure that a bill on ways of terminating the Czechoslovak Federation is passed by the Czechoslovak parliament in September," CSTK reports. The passing of the bill is one of the points in a timetable for the breakup of Czechoslovakia agreed upon by Klaus and Movement for a Democratic Slovakia chairman Vladimir Meciar at talks in Brno on 26 August.

Poland

A protest march was organized on 26 August by strikers from the Ursus Plant, Warsaw Radio reports. Five thousand Ursus workers marched in silence through Warsaw to Belweder Palace and the Office of the Council of Ministers. They were received by Janusz Ziolkowski, head of the President's Chancellery, as well as Secretaries of State Drzycimski and Wachowski, PAP reports.

Conference on Yugoslavia in London Concludes

'Key Areas' Highlighted

LD2708214692 London PRESS ASSOCIATION in English 2104 GMT 27 Aug 92

[By James Hardy, PRESS ASSOCIATION lobby correspondent]

[Text] John Major tonight appeared to have secured a diplomatic breakthrough in the worldwide bid to end the brutal violence in the former republic of Yugoslavia. He hailed "the significant progress" made in the crucial two-day peace conference in London—but warned the warring parties that the international community would not rest until they stuck to their word.

The prime minister also named former SDP [Social Democratic Party] leader Dr. David Owen, now Lord Owen, as Lord Carrington's replacement as the EC's chief peace envoy.

The two-day conference broke up shortly before 9 p.m. today, having agreed to what on paper appeared to be a wide-ranging package to end the violence and build a lasting peace. But the seeming diplomatic triumph was brought sharply into focus by the continued slaughter of innocent civilians in the Bosnian capital of Sarajevo. Nine people were killed and more than 20 wounded when a mortar shell hit a bread queue.

Mr. Major, who co-chaired the talks with United Nations Secretary General Butrus Butrus-Ghali, knows only too well that fine words will count for nothing if they are not enforced and followed up with positive action. The warring factions in the bitter civil war were persuaded to publicly agree to a lengthy package of principles which will form the basis for further negotiation.

Mr. Major told a news conference: "There will be setbacks, but there can be no turning back from the agreements that have been reached. Piecemeal efforts have not worked. We now have for the first time a comprehensive framework. We know what needs to be done, how it needs to be done and by whom it needs to be done. The international community will cajole, negotiate and pressurise the parties for as long as it takes to bring about a settlement."

The prime minister spoke of the "real sense of anger" expressed by world leaders and the concerted pressure brought to bear on the participants. He pointed to six key areas on which a lasting peace could be based:

— New joint UN-EC negotiations based in Geneva on a Bosnian- Serb pledge to bring heavy weapons under UN control and give up a "substantial portion" of seized territory;
— The recognition of Bosnia-Herzegovina and respect for its frontiers;
— A series of essential steps to wind down the conflict;
— Extensive cooperation with humanitarian relief efforts;
— The dismantling of "abhorrent" detention camps and free access for the humanitarian agencies to their inmates;
— A tighter regime of sanctions to ensure the pledges were followed.

Mr. Major warned: "Most of those taking part in the conference are ready to increase the pressure through further sanctions, leading to the total isolation of those who will not comply with their obligations." The prime minister warned the road ahead would be full of pitfalls but added: "The Yugoslav parties have pledged themselves before the rest of the world to a code of conduct. They have themselves signed up to the standards by which they will be judged."

The appointment of Lord Owen, who has been outspoken in his condemnation of the Serbs and called for air strikes against their positions, came against the initial reluctance of the French. Paris Foreign Minister Roland Dumas was uneasy about a man who had made his tough views widely known being picked to tackle one of the world's trickiest diplomatic challenges. But it is clear he was eventually persuaded that Lord Owen, the only candidate for the job, was acceptable. Lord Owen will co-chair the continued Geneva peace conference with UN envoy and former U.S. Secretary of State Cyrus Vance. In a statement he said: "I am honoured to be asked to be co-chairman on behalf of the European Community of the steering group of the international conference on the former Yugoslavia. I pay tribute to the immense work which Peter Carrington has put in already on behalf of the Community and I am hopeful that we can build on that foundation. I am now the servant of the policy of the member states of the European Community. One of my first tasks is to talk to as many Community leaders and brief myself on the London conference. Thereafter I look forward to getting down to work with the parties in Geneva as soon as possible."

Mr. Major told the news conference: "We hope we have now put in place a process that will unravel ancient hatreds and bring peace. We don't pretend it is certain, we don't pretend it is easy, we don't pretend it will all be necessarily swift. We do believe that collectively the world is in a better position to enforce its will towards moving towards peace far more effectively than we could before."

Mr. Major conceded that the conference was a "hazardous undertaking." But he added: "We took the hazard. I think the achievements are there." Mr. Butrus-Ghali said the people of Sarajevo should place their trust in the institutions set up as a result of the conference.

Mr. Major disclosed that he had "some meetings" with militant Bosnian Serb leader Radovan Karadzic today. Mr. Karadzic had been denied entry to the full session of the conference. Mr. Major told reporters that Mr. Karadzic was "in no doubt about our determination to

reach an agreement." The prime minister added: "Suffice to say, at the conclusion, he was fully prepared to offer the changes in his attitude and that of the Bosnian Serbs that I set out to this conference." Mr. Major was referring to Mr. Karadzic's offer to muzzle his heavy guns and give up seized territory.

Statement Withdrawn

LD2708215492 Belgrade TANJUG in English 2050 GMT 27 Aug 92

["Pool" item]

[Text] London, Aug 27 (TANJUG)—The international Conference on Yugoslavia was successully concluded on Thursday [27 August] evening in London's Queen Elizabeth 2nd Conference Centre.

The statement condemning Serbia and Montenegro for aggression and hegemony in Bosnia-Hercegovina, on account of which the conference was interrupted earlier this evening, was withdrawn. The Yugosalav delegation had rejected the document, describing it as constituting a gross attack and one-sided approach to the entire problem.

The conference ended with a speech by British Prime Minister John Major.

'Special Decisions' Adopted on Bosnia

LD2708230492 Belgrade TANJUG in English 2219 GMT 27 Aug 92

["Pool" item]

[Text] London, Aug 27 (TANJUG)—The international Conference on Yugoslavia on Thursday [27 August] adopted in London special decisions applicable to the territory of Bosnia-Hercegovina.

The first stipulates an immediate stop to all violence in the territory of that former Yugoslav republic and the soonest possible lifting of sieges and blockade of towns.

The second calls for the establishment of international supervision of heavy weapons in Bosnia-Hercegovina, and the placing under control of the paramilitary forces of all warring sides in order to prevent a further escalation of the confict.

A ban has been placed on all flights by military aircraft in the airspace of Bosnia-Hercegovina.

The deadline for the placement under international control of all heavy weapons, including rocket launchers and large-calibre guns, is just four days.

"Hot lines" will be set up to link the commanders and headquarters of all warring sides in Bosnia-Hercegovina, and all units and headquarters of the three warring sides will be identified.

The conference also decided, at the request of the Russian delegation, on the urgent positioning on Bosnia-Hercegovina's borders with other republics of controls to stop the transfer of weapons into Bosnia.

As regards the provision of humanitarian aid, all sides have been asked to render all necessary assistance and to cooperate with the aid convoys, which will move in all directions, on account of which all war-damaged bridges, roads and railways will have to be repaired.

It was also decided that conditions should be created for refugees to return to their homes soonest possible, and that all detention camps should be dismantled, and all three sides will bear the responsibility for the fate of the prisoners.

One of the measures adopted at the request of Serbian President Slobodan Milosevic is for UN observers to be positioned in Yugoslav Army units on Serbia's border with Bosnia-Hercegovina to inspect if military aid is flowing from the Federal Republic of Yugoslavia to Bosnia-Hercegovina, and at the same time to see who is violating the cease-fire.

Also adopted was a statement on Bosnia-Hercegovina placing an obligation on all three peoples to continue their negotiations without war and weapons and to look for a way to find constitutional solutions to major problems, and the international conference will accept every agreement concluded by the three peoples in Bosnia-Hercegovina.

The conference also decided to propose to the UN Security Council tougher sanctions against the Federal Republic of Yugoslavia, so that they will be expanded to encompass the River Danube and transit control.

Prime Minister of the Federal Republic of Yugoslavia Milan Panic rejected the above, saying that Yugoslavia had fulfilled a large part of the obligations which proceeded from the Security Council resolution on the imposition of the blockade. However, British Prime Minister John Major, the conference's co-chairman, responded by saying that concrete proof should be offered on what had been done so far in Yugoslavia on meeting the demands set by the international community.

13 Principles Form Basis for Negotiated Settlement

LD2708164392 London PRESS ASSOCIATION in English 1542 GMT 27 Aug 92

[By Sarah Womack, PRESS ASSOCIATION political staff]

[Text] The London conference on the conflict in the former Yugoslavia today issued a set of 13 agreed principles, described as "the basis for a negotiated settlement of the problems." The statement of principles, which diplomatic sources said had been agreed by the

conference as a whole, stressed that all parties concerned in the conflict should "cease fighting and the use of force, should respect agreed cease-fires and restrain those who commit or seek to provoke breaches of them."

The London conference, which has brought together the key players in the conflict as well as world powers, is also thrashing out details of an action programme. It would be directed jointly by the EC and the United Nations, with a steering committee based in Geneva overseeing the work of six task forces.

The statement of principles condemns "forcible expulsion, illegal detention and attempts to change the ethnic composition of the population." It calls for all parties concerned to take part in negotiations to solve political problems and cooperate fully in international monitoring, peacekeeping and arms control operations. All states and factions must comply with UN resolutions, it says, respect frontiers, and honour "the independence, sovereignty, and territorial integrity of all states in the region."

The document declares that any advantage gained by force or "fait accompli" should not be recognised, and stresses the need "to provide international guarantees to ensure the full implementation of all agreements reached at the international conference." It also states: "A final settlement of all questions of succession to the former Socialist Federal Republic of Yugoslavia must be reached by consensus...and the commitment of all parties to recognise each other mutually and to respect each other's status and rights."

Another principle declared the need for humanitarian aid, particularly to children, to be provided under appropriate protection.

Bosnian Serbs Offer To Give Up Territory

LD2708183592 London PRESS ASSOCIATION in English 1740 GMT 27 Aug 92

[By James Hardy, PRESS ASSOCIATION lobby correspondent]

[Excerpts] The [UK] prime minister today pressed delegations at the London conference on the conflict in the former Yugoslavia to accept a set of 13 principles aimed at ending the fighting. [passage omitted]

Canadian Foreign Minister Barbara McDougall said Mr. Major had intervened in proceedings to ensure all were seen to back peace moves. "The parties have made the commitments they have made in front of representatives of much of the world," Mrs. McDougall told a news conference. She added: "This has not happened before and I sense they realise that the eyes of the world are now very firmly fixed on them as individuals, not as nations." [passage omitted]

As the statement was agreed, Bosnian Serb leader Radovan Karadzic said he was ready to give up as much as 20 percent of the territory held by Serbs in Bosnia-Herzegovina as part of a partition of the republic. "We are willing to negotiate up to 20 percent of the territory," he told reporters at the conference, REUTERS reported. "We are not interested in a carve-up of Bosnia between Serbia and Croatia. We are very concerned that the Muslims have their own constituent state." But Muslims, who want Serb forces to withdraw from all the territory they control, are thought unlikely to consider the proposal. [passage omitted]

To Release POW's

LD2708185992 Belgrade TANJUG in English 1712 GMT 27 Aug 92

["Pool" item]
[Text] London, August 27 (TANJUG)—Leader of Bosnia-Hercegovina Serbs Radovan Karadzic said here on Thursday [27 August] that Serbs in Bosnia-Hercegovina would release within two weeks, unilaterally and unconditionally, all 6,000 prisoners of war they hold. Karadzic told more than 100 journalists at the conference that the Serb side would place its heavy armament under UN control.

There are no, and there have never been any concentration camps or camps for civilians in the territory of the Serb Republic, pointed out Karadjic. He said that the camp at Omarska was already closed and that the same would be done with other prisons as soon as the Red Cross can take over the POWs.

"It would be unwise to appoint Lord Owen to succeed Lord Carrington because he has been condemning Serbs in advance long ago, while we know that there are other British statesmen who distinguish themselves by their impartiality," said Karadzic.

He expressed readiness for Serbs to yield "20 percent of the territory they now control" and assessed the conference documents so far as "acceptable," noting however that the standing committee in Geneva should work on their improvement.

"Serbs defend only the territory (64 per cent of the total) which they hold as private property," replied Karadzic when asked by a German journalist "why he offers only 20 per cent, and not the whole of the territory he occupied."

Karadzic said he would adhere to the Lisbon understanding.

Representatives of all three constituent peoples in Bosnia- Hercegovina—Muslims, Serbs and Croats—have met in the Portuguese capital and agreed that Bosnia should be composed of the constituent units based on the national principles, while taking into consideration historical, cultural and other elements.

Serreqi, Panic Debate, Disagree at Conference

AU2708171092 Tirana Radio Tirana Network in Albanian 1330 GMT 27 Aug 92

[Franko Egro telephone report from London]

[Excerpts] The proceedings of the second and last day of the London conference opened with an inflamed diplomatic debate between the chairman of the Albanian delegation, Foreign Minister Alfred Serreqi, and one of the members of the Serbian delegation, Mr. Milan Panic. Using arguments such as that during all the years of existence of the former Yugoslavia, Kosovo has been one of the state's eight constitutional elements, all have now become conscious of the position of the Kosovo population as a special case, about which the Helsinki definitions, etc., speak clearly, and for encouraging Albanians to start a dialogue with the Serbian side, it is necessary that Kosovo should in no way be included in the special working group for nationalities and minorities as was proposed in the session today.

The Belgrade representative, Mr. Milan Panic, did not accept Mr. Serreqi's proposal and asked that the province and several other areas be treated as a special case, a proposal that was rejected by the leader of the session, Mr. Butrus-Ghali. In light of this, Mr. Panic found a diplomatic solution. He proposed that a special working meeting between members of the Serbian delegation and representatives of Kosovo people should deal with this question so as not to obstruct the conference in examining other articles of its action program, which is one of the most important documents that the conference is expected to approve.

Taking the floor right after him, Albanian Foreign Minister Alfred Serreqi suggested postponing this issue for a later time, when the Serbo-Albanian talks are over. He said that he reserves the right to have the final word on this problem. Mr. Serreqi's proposal was welcomed by the leader of the conference, Mr. Butrus-Ghali. [passage omitted]

Concerning the reputation that Serbian President Slobodan Milosevic has in the eyes of policymakers and diplomatic European and international circles, aside from many statements in yesterday's broadcasts, it is worth mentioning a very simple, yet significant episode: After Mr. Serreqi presented, clearly and openly, the Albanian Government's attitude on the crisis in the former Yugoslavia in general and Kosovo question in particular on the first day, Mr. Milosevic reacted very energetically by insistently asking to take the floor to reply, thus breaking the rules of the conference; he was was firmly rejected by Mr. John Major. [passage omitted]

Panic Meets Democratic Alliance of Kosovo Chief

LD2708213292 Belgrade TANJUG in English 2030 GMT 27 Aug 92

["Pool" item]

[Text] London, Aug 27 (TANJUG)—Yugoslav Prime Minister Milan Panic met on Thursday [27 August] afternoon in London with leader of the Democratic Alliance of Kosovo (DSK) Ibrahim Rugova in what was the first official meeting between a Yugoslav Government official and a DSK leader.

TANJUG has learned from sources close to the Yugoslav delegation that there was discussion about the situation in Kosovo, the southern province of Serbia, one of the two republics that make up the Federal Republic of Yugoslavia, and the measures the federal government intends to take to solve the province's problems.

Speakers Give National Viewpoints During Conference

Tudjman Urges International Action

LD2708100492 Zagreb Radio Croatia Network in Serbo-Croatian 2215 GMT 26 Aug 92

[Text] As promised, here is the speech of Croatian President Dr. Franjo Tudjman at the London conference on former Yugoslavia:

Having expressed his thanks for the efforts made so far for the resolution of the state-political and war crisis on the territory of former Yugoslavia by the EC, the CSCE, the United Nations, and all others who invested much effort and good will to arrive at a peaceful and just solution, President Tudjman stressed that new lengthy rounds of talks on what has already been decided must not be permitted to take place.

Expressing my gratitude, I nevertheless have to state, with a remark that it is the opinion of many other concerned experts on the crisis of former Yugoslavia, that the international community has not yet found an effective mechanism for ending the aggression and not enough will and ways to prevent brutal war destruction of a kind that Europe has hardly ever seen before, followed by the most barbaric method of ethnic cleansing to create ethnically pure areas within the framework of a program of conquest of other people's territories. Therefore, I appeal for effective ways to be found for the cessation of war hostilities—in which casualties, predominantly civilian, and huge material destruction are caused—as a condition for the gradual establishment of peaceful life and good relations between states created on the territory of former Yugoslavia and their inclusion in the life of civilized Europe, Dr. Tudjman said.

In connection with all that, it is my duty to remind you of several facts regarding the beginning and the spread of crises on the territory of the former Yugoslav community. The Republic of Croatia has done everything to prevent the state and political crisis of former Yugoslavia from turning into armed conflicts. Because of that, the Republic of Croatia proposed that the former state be transformed into a confederal union of sovereign states. When that was rejected and when the war broke out,

Croatia accepted a peaceful solution by accepting Vance's plan. In the future, Croatia will also do everything for full implementation of the UN Protection Force [UNPROFOR] mandate in the shortest possible time.

We should however mention that implementation of the peacekeeping force's tasks must seriously be speeded up. UNPROFOR has so far been delayed with regard to the disarmament of irregular forces that remained in the UNPROFOR zones; there has also been a delay in the creation of conditions for the return of refugees to their homes, transport communications have not been reestablished nor control over the international borders of Croatia. Eviction of Croats from the areas under UNPROFOR control is still being carried out, while on the other hand, those who have never lived in those areas are allowed to move in.

Such incomprehensible slackness and the violation of all set deadlines is becoming unbearable. It should be particularly stressed that continuous armed attacks have been coming from the territory of Bosnia-Hercegovina on the territory of the Republic of Croatia, from Slavonski Brod to Zupanja. Forces of the former Yugoslav Army, actually Serbo-Montenegrin Army formations, are still occupying purely Croatian areas south of Dubrovnik, which are not in the UN protected area. There is no Serbian population there; therefore, the aggressor army should have left that area much earlier according to Vance's plan.

The Republic of Croatia has, by its Constitution and a subsequent constitutional law, guaranteed Serbs in Croatia all civil and ethnic rights according to the highest international standards, and by the self-administration of the Serbian national minority in areas where it represents the majority population. All that was done in accordance with proposals and the advice of the EC Conference on Yugoslavia and opinions of the arbitration commission. Croatia did not have any problems with the Serbian population on its territory apart from the Serbian minority that, armed by the Yugoslav Army and under instigation from Serbia, became involved in an attempt to restore the communist regime by force and to conquer Croatian areas for Serbia that have never in history belonged to the Serbian state.

Croatia has consistently been acting in accordance with principles and regulations from its democratic Constitution, constitutional laws, and international obligations that it has accepted. As a proof of such a policy, I would like to mention that two months ago, approximately 3,500 Serbs from Gorski Kotar, who had been armed by the former Yugoslav Army, voluntarily handed over their arms and took part in elections for deputies to the Croatian Assembly. The Serbs now have 13 deputies in the Croatian Assembly, had and still have ministers in the government, and have representatives in the Constitutional and Supreme Courts of the Republic of Croatia.

In order to alleviate still existing tensions and to bring the situation back to normal as quickly as possible, the government will propose that the Croatian Assembly examine the problem of abolition and amnesty at its autumn session for those Serbs who were misled into armed rebellion, but who did not commit war crimes.

With all that in mind, we are deeply convinced that the UNPROFOR will be able to implement its tasks until the deadline for which it was given the mandate, and that there will be no need to prolong that mandate as regards stability and legal order in the Republic of Croatia.

Due to the aggression of the former Yugoslav Army and the Serbian territorial and irregular units, which was carried out in a criminal and barbarous way, Croatia suffered heavy human losses, exceeding 10,000 dead, mostly civilians, and about 30,000 wounded, and direct material damage of over $20 billion. Names of devastated towns and villages like Vukovar, Pakrac, Lipik, Vinkovci, Nustar, Slavonski Brod, Dalj, Petrinja, and others are familiar to everyone. Unfortunately, among the names associated with destruction we have to include the historical and civilization pearl of Croatia and of the world's history, Dubrovnik.

There are over 270,000 refugees in Croatia from various Croatian areas, and over 80,000 in other countries—Hungary, Austria, Germany, and Switzerland—to whom we are particularly grateful for their help. Besides this, over 400,000 refugees from Bosnia-Hercegovina have come to Croatia and a further 35,000 Croatian refugees from Vojvodina and Kosovo. If nothing is done urgently, a wave of hundreds of thousands of refugees from Bosnia-Hercegovina can be expected. Every day Croatia spends $3 million on their care, and so far it has spent over $550 million, without taking into account additional help, which is far from being enough for the care of displaced persons and refugees.

Croatia, which has been devastated and exhausted by this war, can no longer bear the burden of giving assistance to these unfortunate people alone. The international community will have to do far more than just expressing compassion for their suffering. Effective measures should be urgently taken to prevent this senseless aggression and to create conditions for the return of refugees to their homes in Croatia and Bosnia-Hercegovina.

In conclusion, I would like to draw your attention to the need for the former SFRY to be immediately stripped of its legitimacy and its expulsion from the membership of all international organizations, President Tudjman said. This a state that no longer exists. The succession of assets, rights, and obligations should be speeded up. The Republic of Croatia is ready to take over its part of assets and liabilities after the division of assets has been adopted. As far as its future is concerned, the Republic of Croatia wishes to be a factor of peace and stability in these territories. Croatia is ready to cooperate with all

states that have gained their independence on the territory of former Yugoslavia, as well as with all other countries in Europe and the world, President of the Republic of Croatia Franjo Tudjman said when concluding his speech at the London conference.

Izetbegovic Critizes Efforts

AU2708200292 Sarajevo Radio Bosnia-Hercegovina Network in Serbo-Croatian 1700 GMT 27 Aug 92

[Text] At the session yesterday afternoon, Alija Izetbegovic, president of the Bosnia-Hercegovina Presidency, addressed the participants of the London conference with these words: The things you failed to do for Bosnia-Hercegovina, you have also failed to do for yourselves, because efforts are being made in Bosnia to defend, in an unequal fight, the acclaimed European principle of life and relations among people and social and ethnic groups. That is the principle of heterogeneity and mutual tolerance, the example of which Bosnia-Hercegovina has always been, despite all historical trials, and is still trying to be, with a utopian perseverance.

This is what Alija Izetbegovic, president of the Bosnia-Hercegovina Presidency, said in his address today [as heard] to the participants of the Conference on Yugoslavia in London.

I come from Bosnia-Hercegovina, the youngest member country of the UN, a country that has become the victim of brutal aggression. I bring you greetings from its citizens, gratitude for what you have done, and reproaches for what you have failed to do, President Izetbegovic said at the very beginning.

According to the concept of the Belgrade rulers, Izetbegovic said clearly, whose representatives are in this hall, following the disintegration of the former Yugoslavia, Bosnia-Hercegovina was supposed to have remained in some reduced Yugoslavia or in a greater Serbia, together with Serbia and Montenegro. The people rejected that, and the will of the people was recognized by Europe, and then by most of the civilized world. Only the Belgrade regime has not recognized it.

What followed was revenge and an attempt to use naked force to impose the desired solution. Over 2,400 armored combat vehicles, over 1,800 artillery pieces of various calibers, aircraft and rocket systems of the Yugoslav People's Army, including over 200,000 soldiers, who were then joined by almost the same number in the irregular party army of the Serbian Democratic Party—all this assailed the young defenseless and vulnerable country.

Over half the country was occupied. With some hastily collected light weaponry, the people put up resistance and continue to do so—in Sarajevo, Gorazde, Srebrnica, Bosanski Brod, Cazin Krajina, and quite a wide belt along the valleys of the Bosna and Neretva rivers, which means in the mostly urban and industrial part of the republic, President Izetbegovic stressed.

Gentlemen, this is not an ordinary war, President Izetbegovic said, nor is Serbia's conquering a mere military occupation. It is a genocidal war against the civilian population, and its religious, national, and cultural treasures. Cities have been devastated, the undesirable population has been either murdered or scattered, and concentration camps have been springing up throughout Bosnia-Hercegovina like mushrooms after rain. These are camps in which men and women are either killed or left to die a slow death from hunger and torture.

No civilized country has a language with words ugly enough to name and describe the crime that is taking place. All this is happening in Europe, in front of your eyes, and almost in your presence, Izetbegovic stressed.

The president of Bosnia-Hercegovina then went on to remind those present that, parallel with the talks that began last winter, one of the sides in Bosnia-Hercegovina, the Serbian Democratic Party, became the aggressor and started a war against the legal authorities. Most of the crimes against the civilian population have been ordered and executed actually by the leaders and the members of this party, Izetbegovic emphasized.

Therefore, negotiating is possible now, he said, but only about the halt to the aggression and the elimination of its consequences, and only later about the future organization of Bosnia-Hercegovina.

According to Alija Izetbegovic, stopping the aggression and eliminating its consequences includes:

An instantaneous cease-fire; withdrawal of the Yugoslav Peoples' Army and affiliated paramilitary armies from the territory of Bosnia-Hercegovina in adherence to the UN Security Council Resolution No. 752; a return of the exiled population to their homes and villages; establishment of the responsibility for war crimes.

If the aggressor does not accept these conditions, President Izetbegovic emphasized, he has to be forced by the following measures: efficient control of the sanctions against Serbia and Montenegro that were imposed by the UN Security Concil Resolution No. 757—and according to our sources, Izetbegovic stressed, some countries are seriously violating these resolutions; stepping up these sanctions; eliminating heavy armament and putting it under the control of the legal Bosnia-Hercegovina Government or the international community, or perhaps by destroying these arms with a military action from the air. In fact [word indistinct] of the UN Security Council Resolution, while for anything else a new resolution would have to be passed.

The president of Bosnia-Hercegovina asked all participants of the conference to support such a measure by making it possible for the legal Government of Bosnia-Hercegovina to arm its troops. In connection with this, we demand the abolishment of the arms embargo or that Bosnia-Hercegovina be exempt from the embargo. I believe that you agree that an internationally recognized

country against which an aggression is being carried out has a right to defend itself, Izetbegovic said.

We must organize control points on the border with Serbia and Montenegro to prevent the inflow of more arms and fresh troops to continue the aggression. Alija Izetbegovic estimates that approximately 1,500 soldiers would be sufficient to accomplish this, therefore, 50 soldiers deployed in each of 30 control points. We do not seek infantry or some 150,000 or even 300,000 soldiers, by which the opponents to Bosnia-Hercegovina (?integrity) are trying to scare the European governments and the public, Izetbegovic stressed and added that we have enough of our boys who are willing to fight for the liberation of our country, but they lack arms.

Izetbegovic then said that the London conference envisages the formation of a working group for Bosnia-Hercegovina. We are willing to cooperate with this commission, but we believe that it must be considerably wider than the present one. Izetbegovic emphasized that one CSCE representative should also be present in the group, if possible from the Foundation for the Human Rights of the U.S. Congress, which offered their help and cooperation in this respect. In any case, this group, regardless of the manner in which it is composed, must first thoroughly study the demographic map of Bosnia-Hercegovina to understand that the problem of Bosnia is a problem of mixed ethnic communities. Ethnically pure regions in Bosnia-Hercegovina are an exception, and solutions cannot be based on exceptions.

Our government also drafted a study on the future constitutional organization of Bosnia-Hercegovina. I would prefer not to speak about it in great detail. I only wish to present two basic principles on which the future constitution of the country would be based. First of all, Bosnia-Hercegovina will be a democratic, secular state based on the sovereignty of citizens and equality of the ethnic communities. Second, Bosnia-Hercegovina will be a decentralized country with a wide regional and local self-government. Two instruments are envisaged to safeguard these principles in reality. First, the Chamber of Peoples, as the second chamber in the parliament—this chamber at present does not exist yet—with the decision-making process being based on the principle of a consensus on the most important issues, which also includes the right of veto. Second, there should be a tribunal court to supervise the implementation of the constitution and observation of human and ethnic rights, which would consist of nine prominent lawyers—three domestic and six appointed by the international institutions. The mandate of this tribunal would last five years. Regarding the resolution of the problems that have emerged with the dissolution of Yugoslavia, I wish to say the following in short. We fully accept the stance and criteria of the EC arbitration commission—Badinter's commission—those concerning the international recognition of the newly emerged states, and those that concern the issue of secession.

The FRY, Serbia, and Montenegro cannot be the direct successors of the SFRY, while the new state—FRY—can only be recognized after it has been established that human and ethnic rights of citizens, ethnic communities, and minorities in the FRY are granted by law and observed in practice. No compromises are acceptable with regard to this. Reject the plans of dividing Bosnia-Hercegovina and suppress the appetites of this sort! If you fail to do this, the aggressor will receive an award instead of the punishment, while a 2 million-strong Muslim nation would remain without a homeland. In such a case its worst part would turn into criminals and its better part into avengers. The latter would then go about avenging the brutality and indifference of the world, and this could last for years.

Finally, Bosnia-Hercegovina is a European country, and its nation is a European nation. Therefore, the evil that befell us did not came from Asia but is of a European origin. The aggressor embodies two poisons—fascism and extreme nationalism, and bolshevism—complete nonsense for (?justice and law). These are European produce. You cannot let Bosnia-Hercegovina die under the boot of these two evils and then go to the meetings and speak of the new world and European order. Europe is being (?defended), built, and perhaps, buried in Bosnia today. Somebody said that poetry has no meaning after Auschwitz. After a demolished Sarajevo and enslaved Bosnia-Hercegovina, any debate on new Europe will also have no meaning.

Saudis Want End to 'Tragedy'

LD2708141892 Riyadh SPA in English 1217 GMT 27 Aug 92

[Text] London, Aug 27, SPA—Saudi Ambassador to Britain Dr. Ghazi al-Qusaibi said on Wednesday [26 August] the Saudi Government has exerted its utmost to alleviate the suffering in Bosnia-Hercegovina and now it believes the time is ripe for putting an end to this tragedy by finding a just and peaceful solution not by armed aggression.

Dr. Al-Qusaibi, who leads the Saudi delegation to the international conference on Bosnia, confirmed in his address to the gathering, the Saudi Government's readiness to exert its utmost efforts to reach such a solution. He stressed that all concerned parties are required to rise to the level of this historic responsibility and face destruction and killing with a mixture of humane attitudes, wisdom and the logic of justice.

"Without this, it will be impossible to reach a peaceful end to this painful strife, an end that replaces fear and strife with peace and security," he said.

Dr.al-Qusaibi also conveyed the greetings of the custodian of the two holy mosques as well as the monarch's wishes that their debates be successful.

Serbian President Notes 'Important Step'

LD2708224992 Belgrade TANJUG in English 2143 GMT 27 Aug 92

["Pool" item]

[Text] London, Aug 27 (TANJUG)—President of the Republic of Serbia Slobodan Milosevic said in London on Thursday [27 August] that the conference on Yugoslavia at this moment represented the most important step in the efforts to resolve the Yugoslav crisis. In an interview to Serbian television, Milosevic said that no problems would arise in the settlement of the crisis as long as the principles advocated by the conference were respected in practice.

The president of Serbia, which together with Montenegro makes up the Federal Republic of Yugoslavia, said the political engagement of the United Nations had created conditions for a realistic approach to the Yugoslav crisis which would make it possible for the interests of all Yugoslav peoples to enjoy equal treatment. "It is a route for the distorted picture of Serbia to be improved, set right, and preconditons for a lasting solution to be found that will also make possible a lasting peace," Milosevic said.

Milosevic rated possitively Cyrus Vance's mission and the realization of his plan. Many reports emanating from UN representatives were objective, in contrast to many others that other sources gave about the Yugoslav crisis.

Speaking about Bosnia-Hercegovina, Milosevic expressed conviction that "it will become clear very soon that the crisis in that former Yugoslav republic cannot be resolved by supporting this or that side. All sides should be provided support to halt their fire and to sit down at the negotiating table," he said.

"From the very start Serbia has insisted that human and minority rights must be protected within the framework of the most exacting standards of the Conference on Security and Cooperation in Europe (CSCE). However, the international community has a right to direct objections at us as far as those CSCE limits—everything else is an internal affair of Serbia and Yugoslavia. Ergo, human and minority rights, for example those of ethnic Albanians in Kosovo, are one thing, while the status of Kosovo is another. It is an indubitable fact that it is a part of Serbia, that Kosovo is Serbia and that it will remain so," he emphasized.

The Serbian president said he was pleased that this approach had not been contested at the conference, except by the Albanians and a couple of other speakers.

Leaders of Albanian Delegations Present Viewpoints

AU2708203892 Tirana Radio Tirana Network in Albanian 1730 GMT 27 Aug 92

[Franko Egro telephone report from London]

[Text] While this afternoon's plenary sitting continues, even as we report, Dr. Ibrahim Rugova, chairman of the delegation of Kosovo Albanians, began a news conference at the Press Center in the presence of many reporters.

After presenting the very grave socioeconomic and political situation in Kosovo as a result of the repression and violence that the Serbian Government continues to systematically exert, Dr. Rugova stressed that we have come to the London conference to contribute to finding a way out of the total crisis that has embraced all the territories of former Yugoslavia. He pointed out that the fact that the international community is paying special attention to the tragedy of Bosnia-Hercegovina is very positive, but I would like the same interest to be shown to the Albanian population in Kosovo. He stressed that under present conditions, another tragedy may happen there—in this case, with greater proportions.

Answering reporters questions about the attitude that the Serbian Government will maintain in the future toward the Kosovo people, he said that the leader of Serbia, Slobodan Milosevic, will undoubtedly nip in the bud every positive initiative and process in solving the Kosovo issue. Their refusal to start talks with us in the presence of a third mediator party testifies to this fact.

Asked what he thinks about the numerous statements by Mr. Milan Panic, he said that Mr. Panic will always remain a dubious character for us because we do not know and understand what power and place he occupies in Serbian policy. He promises and declares much, but he never acts. The presence of troops of the UN, EC, and other countries is of capital importance for Kosovo because only in this way can life, which was paralyzed for years, begin to normalize there. Thus, we can eliminate fear of the possible explosion of a conflict that would be much bloodier than in any other part of the territory of the former Yugoslavia because it is impossible for an unarmed people to resist a police force and Army that have occupied Kosovo for so long.

Asked why the humanitarian organizations have not arrived in Kosovo, Dr. Ibrahim Rugova said that Serbian authorities have banned them from acting in Kosovo, and he added that a number of them have been forcefully evicted.

Mr. Nevzat Halili, chairman of the delegation of Albanians of Macedonia, held a news conference today. In the statement that he presented to the reporters who were present and while answering their questions, he stressed two points: First, the need for a quick and radical change of the present constitution of the Republic of Macedonia so that it properly represents existing proportions between the two main populations, Macedonian and Albanian, the latter of which constitutes nearly 40 percent of the general population. He told reporters that we want the Macedonian side to consider us a state-forming element. To achieve this important goal, we will continue our constructive dialogue with

them. Second, he stressed the fact that for every important decision it may take, the Macedonian Government should necessarily take the preliminary opinion of the representatives of the Albanian population into account. This holds true for the discussions that are being held on changing the name of this republic. We do not agree with this fact because this republic cannot be called Slav Republic since its inhabitants are not just Slavs.

While the delegations continued talks in the main hall during these two days, numerous groups of Kosovars, Bosnians, and Croats were gathered in front of the Queen Elizabeth Center, in which the London conference proceedings were held, and they accompanied the arrival and departure of the Serbian delegations with whistles and catcalls in a sign of protest against its policy.

Hungary 'Gives Preference' to Peaceful Settlement

LD2708190692 Budapest MTI in English 1649 GMT 27 Aug 92

[Text] London, August 27 (MTI)—Hungary acknowledges all UN decisions, but is interested in a peaceful settlement of the conflict in Yugoslavia. The Hungarians in Vojvodina do not receive weapons of any kind from Hungary, and the Hungarians in Vojvodina do not wish to take up arms at all, Hungarian Foreign Minister Geza Jeszenszky said in London on Thursday [27 August], in connection with the London conference on Yugoslavia.

The foreign minister termed the developments of the London conference promising so far, and voiced the hope that, in spite of doubts by some, the conference would approve the principle on the special status of the national minorities in Yugoslavia. (It is believed that Yugoslav Prime Minister Milan Panic has also more or less accepted this principle.)

At his press conference, Jeszenszky said the demand for autonomy does not undermine the security of the neighbouring majority states; on the contrary, it intensifies that. Support for Hungarians in Transylvania, Slovakia, the Ukraine or Vojvodina does not mean that Hungary has any sort of territorial demands. The Hungarian minorities wish to live in their places of birth as satisfied and loyal citizens.

The foreign minister also said the refugees currently in Hungary wish to return home. Jeszenszky welcomed the promises made by the Serbian and Bosnian presidents to British Prime Minister John Major, whereby they would welcome UN observers along their joint border. The Hungarian foreign minister voiced regret that EC observers still have not been deployed along the Serbian-Hungarian border, in spite of a previous agreement.

"For its part, Hungary proposed open borders and confidence-building measures to Serbia, but we will strictly observe the UN embargo, as long as it is in force," Jeszenszky said.

The foreign minister denied that the Hungarians in Vojvodina had received weapons from Hungary. "The Hungarians in Vojvodina do not want to take up arms," he added.

In answer to a question, Jeszenszky said Hungary acknowledges all decisions of the United Nations, but for its part gives preference to the peaceful settlement of the Yugoslav conflict.

Spanish Minister Sees 'Turning Point'

LD2708225792 Madrid RNE-1 Radio Network in Spanish 2000 GMT 27 Aug 92

[Text] The second day of the peace conference for the former Yugoslavia which, as you know, is being held in London, has just ended. Our correspondent in the British capital has the first assessment of this conference by Spanish Foreign Minister Javier Solana. Javier Algarra reports from London:

The London conference has just concluded its session after approving the last document still awaiting study, the one concerning Serbia. This is a document that refers to the sanctions to be imposed, specifying that the embargo will not be only by land and sea but also by river, controlling transport on the Danube. After the session closed, Spanish Foreign Minister Javier Solana said that the conference represents a turning point in the Yugoslav crisis and that we all—and he emphasized all—must comply with what has been agreed here. Solana said that if the groups in conflict comply, they will definitely join the international community, but if they do not comply, they will encounter isolation and ostracism by the rest of the world. Solana expressed his confidence that the agreements will be carried out without problems:

[Begin recording] We all have the hope that what has been started in these two days and will continue in Geneva shortly will lead to a cease-fire and to stable, lasting, and just peace in the Balkans. [end recording]

The London conference for peace in Yugoslavia, which, as you heard, has just ended its second day, has given all the parties in the conflict a deadline of four days to notify the United Nations of an inventory of heavy weapons.

Greek Position on Yugoslav Crisis, Embargo Noted

NC2708200492 Athens Elliniki Radhiofonia Radio Network in Greek 1700 GMT 27 Aug 92

[Text] Foreign Minister Mikhail Papakonstandinou gave a news conference today and presented the Greek positions on the international conference and the Yugoslav crisis. Papakonstandinou said that the decision by the London Conference on Yugoslavia to keep clear of a military operation in that country justifies the Greek positions. The minister said that our country has been and will remain opposed to a military solution because it

believes that is not the best way to solve a problem peacefully. We cannot deal with a war by starting another one, he said. I am happy that the international conference also adopted this position, and I want to believe that there will be an optimistic development in the Yugoslav problem.

Regarding some criticism of Greece concerning implementation of the embargo, Papakonstandinou replied that our country faithfully implements the relevant instructions, but it is impossible to know if a cargo's documentation or destination is changed after leaving Greece.

Regarding tomorrow's meeting with Turkish Foreign Minister Hikmet Cetin, Papakonstandinou said it mainly will be an acquaintance meeting and will serve to determine what will improve Greek-Turkish relations and what points unite but also divide the two countries.

[Athens Elliniki Radhiofonia Radio Network in Greek at 1700 GMT on 27 August carries the following report by Yeoryios Yemenakis:

["Greek Foreign Minister Mikhail Papakonstandinou had a short, informal meeting today at noon with UN Secretary General Butrus Butrus-Ghali in London. Butrus-Ghali was particularly warm. Papakonstandinou thanked him for his efforts to promote a solution to the Cyprus issue. Butrus-Ghali assured the Greek foreign minister that he is determined to continue these efforts. Papakonstandinou and Butrus-Ghali agreed to meet again in New York within the framework of the General Assembly for a more extensive discussion.

["Papakonstandinou met this morning with Yugoslav Prime Minister Milan Panic and criticized him for saying one thing in Greece regarding Skopje and now saying another. Panic apologized by saying that it is talk without substance.

["Papakonstandinou also met with Serbian leader Slobodan Milosevic. He complained about Panic's actions, and Milosevic replied: Do not make too much of it; he is crazy. Milosevic assured Papakonstandinou that Serbia remains a close friend of Greece.""]

Officials Discuss Stances in Conference Interviews

Milosevic Discusses World View

AU2708205192 Belgrade RTB Television Network in Serbo-Croatian 1730 GMT 27 Aug 92

["Special" interview with Slobodan Milosevic, president of the Republic of Serbia, by Zoran Jevdjovic in London on 27 August—recorded]

[Text] [Milosevic] It is obvious that the London conference represents, I would say, the most significant step at this moment for the Yugoslav crisis to be finally resolved. You will recall that for a very long time we insisted on a role for the United Nations in resolving the Yugoslav crisis, and we advocated that the United Nations should not be present in Yugoslavia only as a peacekeeping force, but that the political role of the UN should be increased. This has to all intents and purposes been done, and I believe that with such participation by the UN, only now do conditions exist for a true approach to be taken to the Yugoslav crisis, an objective approach to the Yugoslav crisis, which will make it possible for the interests of all Yugoslav peoples to be equally respected, that is to say, for this distorted picture in which Serbia is presented in a negative light to be corrected, that is to say, made realistic.

These are prerequisites for a permanent solution to be achieved that will also facilitate a permanent peace. The greatest problem, as everyone knows, is the problem of Bosnia-Hercegovina, and it is now obvious that everyone at the conference is advocating that the war be stopped immediately there and that the warring sides immediately sit at the negotiating table. I think that it will very soon become clear that the crisis in Bosnia-Hercegovina is not resolved by extending support to certain sides because giving support to certain sides can only escalate the war conflicts. Support should be given to all sides so that they stop shooting and sit at the negotiating table. This is the only way out of the current situation on Yugoslav territory.

As you can see, the other questions that were raised particularly concerned questions of human and minority rights. There was quite a lot of pressure regarding Kosovo. I think that our public should know that in this respect we have a quite distinct and clear stand. When it comes to human and minority rights, we absolutely insist, and we have done so from the beginning, that these rights be protected within the framework of the highest standards of the CSCE.

It is true that the issue of human and minority rights is not some kind of internal issue because these are universal principles the whole world must respect. However, the international community has the right to make demands of us and level objections at us as far as these limits in meeting the highest CSCE standards. Everything else is our internal issue. Everything else is the internal affair of Serbia and Yugoslavia.

Therefore, the human and minority rights of, for example, the Albanians in Kosovo, are one thing, and the status of Kosovo is something else. The issue of human and minority rights is certainly an issue that can definitely be discussed by the international community at this and similar conferences, but the issue of the status of Kosovo and the irrefutable fact that this is a part of Serbia and that Kosovo is Serbia and will remain so is definitely our internal issue.

I am very happy that with the exception of a couple of speakers, the Albanians and I think that no one at this conference challenged this kind of approach. It is out of the question that Kosovo can in any way be considered separate from the Republic of Serbia. Therefore, the

question of our territorial integrity cannot be raised in any way in this respect. Nor could we agree to this in any form or under any circumstances.

[Jevdjovic] There have, however, been quite a few strong speakers, I would say, who have generally based their speeches on their conviction that Serbia is the main culprit for the events in Bosnia-Hercegovina, too. How can we respond to these attacks, and how can we initiate a process for a more realistic approach, because we know ourselves that representatives of Germany, for example, like Mr. Kinkel, have used virtually all their diplomatic power to attack Serbia?

[Milosevic] I think that there are serious guarantees in precisely this kind of involvement of the world organization that a balanced picture will be created. You know, after all, that throughout the whole of our Yugoslav crisis the only successful action that really was successfully completed was the action that was carried out by the United Nations; this was Cyrus Vance's mission and the implementation of the whole of his plan. As you know, the many reports that have been given by UN representatives have also been objective in contrast to many other reports that other sides have given in the Yugoslav crisis.

If, therefore, all activity is directed toward this UN track, I think that we can have confidence that a balanced picture and therefore an objective approach to the Yugoslav crisis can be achieved.

[Jevdjovic] Finally, what, in your opinion, motivates the representatives of some countries and even their governments to have such a stand regarding Serbia?

[Milosevic] Obviously some countries—countries that helped the breakup of Yugoslavia—are motivated by their internal and long-term interests. It is indisputable that in the Yugoslav crisis matters must finally be concluded and resolved in Yugoslavia itself and that in this respect, I would say, general efforts and endeavors by the world organization will help this to happen. I expect this, and I firmly believe in this.

[Jevdjovic] Does that mean that we can also expect positive results from the conference itself, at least the beginning of the process?

[Milosevic] You have seen that we are talking about principles. Principles are more or less quite all right. It is certainly always easier to agree on principles than to put all these principles into practice. If the principles that are established by the conference are consistently adhered to, then there should not be any problems in the final resolution of the crisis.

Panic Optimistic About Future

AU2808095292 Hamburg DIE ZEIT in German 28 Aug 92 p 5

[Interview with FRY President Milan Panic by Michael Schwelien; place and date not given: "These Criminals Do Not Listen to Anyone"]

[Text] [Schwelien] You have been in office for about five weeks and have already traveled through half of Europe. Have your travels yielded any results?

[Panic] We must come to grips with this country's external affairs. I have talked to all the people who may contribute to solving the problems of the Balkans—both the short term and the long-term ones.

[Schwelien] The short term: Fighting in Sarajevo is heavier than ever before.

[Panic] This is an imprecise statement.

[Schwelien] What is precise?

[Panic] In reality, the fighting all over Bosnia has declined by 20 percent compared with last month. Perhaps fighting is heavier in Sarajevo. Before conferences are held, the parties in question always try to come closer to their goals. I condemn this, but it is a fact.

[Schwelien] Do you know exactly what is going on?

[Panic] No. We do not control the people, nor does Mr. Izetbegovic, or Mr. Karadzic.

[Schwelien] During your visit to Sarajevo you said that everyone can be brought under control. Does this at least apply to the Serbs around and in Sarajevo?

[Panic] The majority of the Serbs in Bosnia is controlled by its Serbian leadership. But there is an element that is really criminal, namely the paramilitary units. These criminals do not listen to anyone.

[Schwelien] Who could disarm them?

[Panic] I support the plan that calls for a common Serbian, Croatian, and Muslim troop to clear Sarajevo of terrorists, but I fear that this plan cannot be implemented.

[Schwelien] Do you not mind that you are sitting beside Slobodan Milosevic in London?

[Panic] I did not want him to attend. I, along with my government, represent this country.

[Schwelien] Do you expect the London Conference to also decide on steps to recognize the new Yugoslav republic?

[Panic] Recognition is only a formal thing. One cannot recognize a country with just 1 million inhabitants and refuse recognition to a country with 15 million.

[Schwelien] You promised to recognize Bosnia-Hercegovina. In which borders?

[Panic] In the Titoist borders.

[Schwelien] Thus you are the only person in the world who believes that Serbs, Croats, and Muslims could still coexist in Bosnia.

[Panic] World War II ended. The conflict between the Germans and the French ended. And what unified Western Europe? Not the great German or French diplomats. It was the economy. I believe in the United States of the Balkans. This will come.

[Schwelien] Have you been able to convince Serbian terrorists and Muslim fighters of the priority of the economy?

[Panic] There were cruel criminals in Germany, there were French nationalists. But what really counts is a better life.

[Schwelien] You have said that the problems of the Albanians in Kosovo are an "internal affair of Yugoslavia." Do the Albanians not have the same right to self-determination that everyone in the Balkans demands?

[Panic] I politely ask Europe not to suffocate us with the demand for human rights. The life of a single Yugoslav Albanian is worth more to me than all the books in the world about the theory of human rights.

[Schwelien] Thus, no solution for the Kosovo?

[Panic] More people die in Los Angeles than in Kosovo. I may say this because I am an American.

[Schwelien] You were invited by Slobodan Milosevic to take over the office of prime minister. Do you have any power of your own?

[Panic] I prevented the nationalization of the private media concern Politika. We have condemned the "ethnic cleansing." We have categorically rejected the forcible change of borders. We are not striving for expansion. We would like to start negotiations with Croatia immediately. I can solve the problem of Dubrovnik.

[Schwelien] Can you recall the troops that are besieging Dubrovnik?

[Panic] They will obey my orders.

[Schwelien] Then you should also be able to withdraw troops from Bosnia.

[Panic] All federal troops have been withdrawn from Bosnia. The tragedy is that they left the country infected with weapons. We must demilitarize Bosnia. I want to support the United Nations in this effort. The Yugoslav Army can be under the command of the Russians and the Americans in this endeavor.

[Schwelien] Giving up so much sovereignty might cost you your office.

[Panic] Do you know the latest polls? I am the world champion. I enjoy 90 percent approval of my policy in Serbia.

[Schwelien] Can we see these polls?

[Panic] I do not have them yet.

[Schwelien] Polls are one thing, the power base is something different. Who supports you?

[Panic] The Serbian-Orthodox Church, the universities, the Academy of Sciences, the students, of course the business world, and the opposition—the opposition must support me because I am more democratic than they are. I want peace.

Bosnian President Assesses Progress

PM2808140692 Paris LE FIGARO in French 27 Aug 92 p 2

[Interview with Bosnian President Alija Izetbegovic by Jean-Jacques Mevel in London; date not given]

[Text] London—[Mevel] Do you feel that pressure is being exerted on you in London to end the fighting and begin a dialogue with the Bosnian Serbs?

[Izetbegovic] This is not direct pressure, but I have the impression that efforts are being made to extract something from me. The international community does not understand the situation or rather it understands it very clearly, but the issue goes beyond Bosnia-Hercegovina. There is a desire to solve the problem, but without involvement. Europe feels obliged to do something, but it does not want to take risks. One thing is clear: We in Bosnia are not prepared to start any kind of negotiations with the aggressor. What Serbia has undertaken is not just an occupation, it is genocide. You can have talks with an army of occupation. It is difficult to negotiate with killers.

[Mevel] However, you have lost hope for an outside armed intervention to save Bosnia-Hercegovina....

[Izetbegovic] I am not sure that this option has been entirely abandoned. A change of course is still possible.

[Mevel] After five months of fighting, coexistence among the three communities—Muslim, Serbian, and Croatian—has been undermined. Have you changed your view of the "united" future of Bosnia-Hercegovina?

[Izetbegovic] I have supported the idea of coexistence. Diversity and tolerance are the essence of Bosnia-Hercegovina. I sometimes wonder whether it is still possible.

[Mevel] Does this mean that you now accept the idea of partition on an ethnic basis, a "cantonization" as the Serbs want and as the EEC seemed prepared to envisage?

[Izetbegovic] It is quite simply impossible. The people do not want it. People identify "cantonization" with the misfortune that has befallen the country, with transfers of population, and "ethnic cleansing."

[Mevel] But is coexistence still possible. We have seen Serbs spontaneously setting fire to their neighbor's house simply because they were Muslims. The reverse has also happened....

[Izetbegovic] Living together again is difficult to imagine. But in Sarajevo, for instance, we are still living together. There may still be 100,000 Serbians sharing the martyrdom of the city with the Muslims and Croatians. It is in the rural districts that mistrust between communities is strongest.

[Mevel] What is the greatest damage inflicted on your country in five months of fighting?

[Izetbegovic] In addition to the massacre of civilians, expulsions and destruction, it is the question of Bosnia-Hercegovina's very existence as a community. I am afraid that the damage might be irreparable.

[Mevel] What are your conditions for reopening dialogue?

[Izetbegovic] I will say how the problem should be solved, but there is no question of dialogue. First, the aggression should be stopped. And this depends on the Serbs. While our cities are being shelled and civilians massacred, any dialogue is impossible. One day, if that all stops, negotiations can start again after a time. The Serbs must withdraw from mainly Croatian and Muslim areas....

[Mevel] In view of the Serbian steamroller, many people here think that is a suicidal attitude....

[Izetbegovic] We have 150,000 lightly armed men and they are not prepared to surrender. They will fight. If the aggression stops, people might calm down.

[Mevel] Would you accept the solution adopted in Croatia, namely freezing the established positions under blue helmet control?

[Izetbegovic] I reject the status quo. No cease-fire is acceptable without the withdrawal of Serbian troops.

[Mevel] It is not just the Serbs, there are also the Croatians in Hercegovina who no longer recognize your government's authority....

[Izetbegovic] There is no major problem with the Croatians. There is an extremist, secessionist faction. But those who know that Bosnia-Hercegovina is their country are in a majority: The intellectuals, and especially the Catholic Church.

[Mevel] What percentage of the country do you still control?

[Izetbegovic] Between 45 and 50 percent, including the territories controlled by the Croatian forces. This means that the Serbs hold a little more than half. But they have seized the best part—the big valleys, the industrial potential, and the roads.

[Mevel] The Europeans, speaking through Douglas Hurd, have said that if the Muslims want a state, they must now sit down at the negotiating table. You say, however, that they must fight for survival. There is total disagreement....

[Izetbegovic] I say that the Bosnians must fight for survival. We are not fighting for the Muslims or some united state. I am fighting for a democratic state of Bosnia-Hercegovina that will be secular and very decentralized.

Mock Notes Debate on Issues

AU2708125092 Vienna Oesterreich Eins Radio Network in German 1000 GMT 27 Aug 92

[Interview with Austrian Foreign Minister Alois Mock by Brigitte Fuchs in London on 27 August—recorded]

[Text] [Fuchs] Mr. Mock, this morning there have been reports of dramatic arguments in the [Conference on Yugoslavia] plenum. I have been told that there was a clash between Milan Panic, who heads the FRY delegation, and Serbian leader Slobodan Milosevic, who had hardly spoken up at the conference before. Can you tell us what happened?

[Mock] Well, it is not easy to describe because FRY Prime Minister Panic keeps making proposals—as he has done over the past few weeks—suggesting, for instance, that the Balkans should be demilitarized for eternity; proposals that sound very nice and pleasant, of course, but are not taken seriously in any way. Obviously, he went too far for Milosevic when he agreed to a special working group to deal with Kosovo and the fate of the Albanians, who constitute 90 percent of the population there. Milosevic said he could not agree to that, and Panic answered that only he can make statements on behalf of the so-called all-Yugoslav delegation. What the end result will be is completely unclear.

As regards the course of the conference so far, one has to say that this morning a list of principles was accepted, there will be another paper on Bosnia and Serbia, and there will be a list of actions; however, the question will remain open as to how the principles and the goals will be achieved. This is the only thing that concerns the people in the area, who are threatened with starvation, deportation, and death.

[Fuchs] Are there any possibilities for implementing these things. Yesterday a proposal on international air space control was made by French Foreign Minister Roland Dumas in order to prevent Serbian air raids on Bosnia.

[Mock] I think this proposal is very good and very important. There was no objection to this proposal, either. It cannot be said yet whether the proposal will be included in the list of actions. In any case, the establishment of safety zones for the Kurds north of the 36th parallel in Iraq last year and the establishment of a safety

zone for the Shi'ites—again in Iraq and not in Bosnia-Hercegovina—show that one can exert political and military pressure by military means from the air. This would go in this direction. It is an approach that has been suggested twice by France. I hope that the international community will gradually discover that even though right is supposed to win per se; ultimately, it needs force in order to be taken seriously. This is where we stand at the moment.

[Fuchs] After these two days in London, do you feel that progress has been made in one area or the other?

[Mock] It may sound very modest, and it is indeed a very modest standpoint, when I say that progress has been made in the following respect: Approval of the principles by which the problem of Bosnia-Hercegovina is to be solved and also the condemnation of the aggression that is taking place against Bosnia- Hercegovina and Croatia, has achieved a much broader basis. The principles have been accepted by a larger number of states, not just by European or Atlantic states. It has been stressed more clearly than ever before—above all, by the British prime minister—that if these recommendations by the international community do not work, other options will be found; however, no progress has been made on the use of these other options.

[Fuchs] What will happen next?

[Mock] I think that the afternoon will show whether agreement can be reached on this program of action, with a list of essential decisions within its framework. Then people will wait—and this is the only yardstick by which the conference should be judged—the people in Bosnia-Hercegovina, in Sanjak, in Kosovo, and in Croatia will wait to see which of these measures will be implemented for peace.

[Fuchs] What is your personal impression? Are the participants in the conference—above all, those who have hardly spoken so far, such as Slobodan Milosevic—willing to make concessions?

[Mock] I think that one has to help the conference—no matter how modest one's means are—to be successful, but one also has to know that things may develop differently, that it may be shown once more that political principles and pressures are no longer sufficient to solve this problem and to help justice, human justice, to gain ground, and that in the end, one will come back to the question of whether one is willing to use coercive military measures in line with the UN Charter.

[Fuchs] Thank you for this interview.

Kinkel Notes 'Skepticism'

AU2808081192 Cologne Deutschlandfunk Network in German 0518 GMT 28 Aug 92

[Telephone interview with FRG Foreign Minister Klaus Kinkel by an unidentified radio reporter in London—live]

[Text] [Reporter] On the telephone in London I welcome FRG Foreign Minister Klaus Kinkel. Good morning.

[Kinkel] Good morning.

[Reporter] Are you more optimistic than pessimistic in your assessment of the outcome of the London conference on Yugoslavia?

[Kinkel] Before this conference I was restrained in my expectations, like the British Presidency; I still am. Asked about what has been achieved, I would say: An acceptable result in the circumstances. I admit that, particularly as far as the continuing shooting is concerned that you have mentioned, as far as the continuing killing and massacres are concerned, the conference results will have to be measured by actual future developments on site. Just like you, I see this in a realistic way and would like to say clearly: Skepticism is appropriate, even though—I repeat, in the circumstances; it was a difficult double conference of the United Nations and the EC Presidency—it is an acceptable result.

[Reporter] What is the—let us say—juridical base of what has been agreed on in London, as far as the fulfillment of potential promises by the parties involved in the civil war?

[Kinkel] Well, it is just as in the case of other conferences of this kind. This time, however, all political forces, including the Serbs, sat at one table for the first time: All political forces that might be able, or to put it more bluntly, should be able to come to grips with this problem. Rarely before, I believe, has what is going on and what is expected now been expressed so clearly. Various things have been agreed on, as you have pointed out. The conference came to a clear isolation of Serbia, and I think that, above all, it was made clear to the political and military forces there that they are at a crossroads.

[Reporter] Can this also be deduced from the behavior of the participants from the affected area, as far as you observed, heard, and saw?

[Kinkel] It is difficult to judge because they sometimes spoke with two tongues. Panic spoke basically for the Serbian side, but so did Milosevic. During the conference, there were even arguments between the two about who was the real spokesman of the side. I would say: Let us wait and see. It is difficult to say what kind of impression all this has made on the Serbian side, but I must say that it actually cannot have failed to make an impression. What is important to me is the fact that specific targets have been set for immediately continuing peace negotiations in Geneva with the inclusion of the United Nations. All parties agreed to that. The Serbs, too, have drawn up a list of principles. What is particularly important to me is the list of decisions that was drawn up in part as a result of the strong pressure from us, and includes an essential part of the 10 points I demanded before the conference.

[Reporter] Mr. Kinkel, the statement also says that existing borders must be respected until they are changed by mutual agreement. Could this not be interpreted as an invitation to the Serbs to continue military pressure until the Bosnians agree—or have to agree—to border changes by mutual agreement?

[Kinkel] No. All conference participants agreed that border changes or territorial gains achieved by force will not be recognized under any circumstances. It was also quite important that it was expressed that those currently responsible for the killing and devastation are also responsible under criminal law. This is one of the results of the conference that I am proud of. For the first time, our idea of an international court of justice has met with support at a broad international level, from the United States to Russia. Denmark, the Netherlands, Italy, Great Britain, and France: They all supported us. I consider this a success. I do not want to overestimate this, but it is, at least, psychologically important and interesting.

[Reporter] A not unimportant aspect of this war is the embargo, the economic sanctions. What gives you reason to hope that these sanctions will be better observed and tightened?

[Kinkel] First of all, we have decided on very specific measures. I do not have time to list them all in detail. These measures range from checks on the Danube to checks on land routes. For me, personally, it was important that I dealt with the different specific issues in separate talks, above all with the Romanian and Greek foreign ministers, and reached agreement. I think that it has been recognized there how important it is to be absolutely strict about observing the embargo. I think that we have made quite some progress in this respect. I repeat that I do not have time to explain this in detail.

[Reporter] There have been objections by some people who compare the behavior of the West, on the one hand, in the Yugoslav war, and on the other, in the conflict between the United States and Iraq. Why can the West not get involved as intensively in the former case as in the latter?

[Kinkel] The West is involved most massively: The United Nations, the CSCE, the Western European Union [WEU]. Later today we will have a special session of the WEU Council of Ministers here in London. The Europeans also are involved bilaterally. Everything is being done. The problem in former Yugoslavia is more complicated, purely in view of the actual situation, it is far more complicated. I think it is unfair to try to deduce a double standard in the West's actions from that. It is unjustified.

[Reporter] What will you discuss in the WEU today that goes beyond what has been discussed and decided at the international conference over the past two days?

[Kinkel] On 24 August in Rome the ad-hoc group of the WEU worked out potential plans for securing humanitarian relief shipments and controlling heavy weapons, as it had been tasked to do. This was and is an assignment of the United Nations. In fulfilling this assignment certain considerations were raised, and this is what we want to discuss today. Naturally, it is useful to discuss this today because specific results were achieved yesterday on these two issues, as well. Now it is important to find out who will put these plans into action and how they can be implemented. In this respect we find ourselves in the well-known, difficult situation because of our constitutional situation and also because we have to take the events of history into consideration.

[Reporter] If we look beyond today and beyond the next few weeks and months, to a time when the war might be over, where and how do you see the future of the former Yugoslavia?

[Kinkel] At the beginning I said—and I stick to it—that realistically speaking, skepticism regarding the prospects for peace is appropriate. I really wish that we could achieve peace. I cannot yet see the final destination of the journey, but I say again, as I said at the conference yesterday, it is inconceivable and it would not be right if—after our enormous efforts for more than a year we have not found a sensible solution—we were now to lean back and say: Well, that was it, it is impossible. No, we must try with all conceivable political means to settle this conflict peacefully. The tragic thing is that now, after the great East-West conflict has been settled, these ethnic and religious problems of multinational states are flaring up everywhere within the freedom that has been won. It is particularly tragic that this is taking place right in the center of Europe, in former Yugoslavia. I can only say that I do not yet see the final destination of the journey. It will remain difficult, very difficult.

[Reporter] That was FRG Foreign Minister Klaus Kinkel on Yugoslavia and on the Yugoslavia conference that ended in London yesterday evening. Thank you for this interview, goodbye.

[Kinkel] Goodbye.

Dumas 'Not Disappointed'

LD2708210892 Paris Antenne-2 Television Network in French 1800 GMT 27 Aug 92

[Interview with Roland Dumas, French minister of state for foreign affairs, in London, by announcer Henri Sannier in Paris—live]

[Excerpt] [passage omitted] [Sannier] Good evening, Roland Dumas. You are with us live from London. Yesterday, you said that this conference should allow a break with the war process. Are your hopes disappointed this evening, Mr. Minister?

[Dumas] No, they are not, in the sense that I was not harboring illusions. We were not going to settle the Yugoslav crisis in two days. However, what was the aim of this international conference which France desired? I had been requesting it since 4 July in Vienna. This

proposal was taken up again by the president of the Republic at the Munich meeting of the Group of Seven, which accepted the principle of it. What was the aim? It was to expand the Carrington conference, which run been out of steam despite the very good work done. The idea was to make the United Nations—that is, the five permanent member-countries and the secretary general—join the process, and to make some Islamic countries take part in the conference, because there is, as you know, an important Muslim community in Bosnia-Hercegovina. Two countries are representing the Muslims. The neighboring countries of the former Yugoslavia have something to say, and, as we all know, it is through these countries that the traffic which is making the embargo partially inefficient travels. Therefore, the aim of this international conference was to gather all those who are concerned with the Yugoslav conflict. Second, the conference was meant to allow the definition of a framework for negotiations and means of action to try to find the way to peace. Last but not least, it was meant to allow the various parties to meet for bilateral negotiations in order to make things go forward.

From this viewpoint, I am not disappointed. On the contrary, we have made steps forward during these two days in the direction wanted by France.

[Sannier] Roland Dumas, did you expressly name the aggressors in the final communique of the conference?

[Dumas] Two texts will be prepared. One of them, on Bosnia-Hercegovina, has already been adopted. The other, on Serbia, is being discussed right now. I am with you; I am not at the conference; however, I am to take up my place as the head of the French delegation in a while. It is true that it is required that Bosnia-Hercegovina immediately resume the political negotiations to settle the internal conflict in Bosnia-Hercegovina. The text on Serbia has used language which seems to me totally appropriate for the situation. Blame is particularly put on Serbia, which is condemned, in a way. A number of actions have been recommended. I hope that Serbia will carry them out.

[Sannier] Mr. Dumas, it is being said that the Serbs have already conquered two-thirds of Bosnia-Hercegovina. Are they ready to return these territories? Did you talk about this?

[Dumas] We have talked about this. This is one of the points that has been the object of very harsh and deep discussions. There can not be a solution which does not take into account the respect of the borders of the various states, particularly the return of the territories which have been conquered by force.

You will read the documents and you will see that they recommend mutual recognition of the republics, which implies the recognition of the borders.

[Sannier] You have said that the Yugoslav crisis is a testing ground for Europe. Do you think that Europe has proven its ability?

[Dumas] I would say that Europe has made progress with its behavior. Since the beginning of the crisis—July 1991—we have witnessed a rather distressing scene, because some used to pull in one direction and the others in a different one. Since those days, and due to the French drive and the convening of this international conference, I would say that the Europeans are behaving better. They are behaving well, in any case. Tomorrow morning we will have a meeting of the Western European Union, which is, as you know, a military organization of the community. I think that we will define a number of measures for the coordination of our forces, since the forces are put at the disposal of the United Nations by the various countries. This coordination will make it possible to verify once more a good cohesion between the member-countries of the EC.

[Sannier] Two final questions, Mr. Dumas. I ask you to answer them rather quickly if possible. Are you aware that the inability of Europe to intervene on its own in Yugoslavia has had a big effect on the progress of the no to Maastricht campaign in the forthcoming referendum in France?

[Dumas] I regret this, because it is the opposite that should be happening. This is because we do not have a good coordination of the foreign policy and the policy of the security of the Europeans, on which the Europeans have been wavering, as I have said during the last 12 months. This argument is used wrongly and against good sense.

[Sannier] Tell me: We are not intervening militarily in Yugoslavia, but we are following Great Britain and the United States in the south of Iraq, in the south of parallel 32. Were we really forced to go there?

[Dumas] We are committed within the framework of the United Nations. We took part in the operation to liberate Kuwait. We voted for the resolutions. These resolutions must be implemented. The Baghdad government, as you know, is not implementing them; it is putting all sorts of obstacles in the way of the control by the UN experts, and it is inflicting upon its communities—the Kurds in the north and the Shi'ah in the south—scandalous behavior. UN resolutions have therefore provided for the intervention of the allies. This process corresponds to the judicial and political stands taken by France. This is not just following. This is French political resolve and determination.

[Sannier] Between us, you are aware that President Bush needs to score a few points in the international arena. Do you get the impression that you are giving him a bit of help a few weeks prior to the American presidential elections.

[Dumas] President Bush has his own problems, but there are others who also have problems.

[Sannier] Thank you, Mr. Dumas. I recall that you have been answering our questions live from London. Good luck for the end of this conference, which has not ended yet.

[Dumas] Thank you. We are going to work until very late tonight.

Romanian Foreign Minister Meets With Officials

AU2708190692 Bucharest ROMPRES in English 1807 GMT 27 Aug 92

[Text] London, ROMPRES, 27/8/1992—Romanian Foreign Minister Adrian Nastase who is visiting London to attend a peace conference on former Yugoslavia, had several interviews with heads of other states' diplomacies. Some of them were first contacts on bilateral ties.

After acting U.S. secretary-general, Lawrence Eagleburger, the Romanian foreign minister had as a collocutor the Italian foreign minister Emilio Colombo who expressed his country's determination to expand and diversify relations with Romania and encourage the presence of Italian investors in Romania.

German Foreign Minister Klaus Kinkel showed his country's interest in amplifying relations with Romania. He also referred to the observance of economic sanctions stating that commodity transit might be affected on the Danube to Yugoslavia, a question about which the Romanian minister specified that Romania had applied to international teams of observers for acknowledgment of its abiding by the rules.

The interview with the Hellenic foreign minister, Mikhail Papakonstandinou, appraised the sustained dynamics of the ties between Greece and Romania. Greece will back Romania's association with the European Community (an event that may produce in September or October), said the Greek diplomat assessing Romania's attitude toward coming in harmony with the EC stands.

With the Turkish foreign minister, Hikmet Cetin, Foreign Minister Nastase exchanged opinions on the current conference and on bilateral ties.

Greater WEU Role in Embargo, Aid Proposed

AU2708142692 Paris AFP in English 1258 GMT 27 Aug 92

[Text] Rome, Aug 27 (AFP)—A mission from the Western European Union (WEU) sent to investigate the U.N. embargo against Serbia and Montenegro proposed Thursday [27 August] a more "positive role" for the WEU in helping humanitarian aid and sustaining the blockade.

Sir Dudley Smith, the British president of the Defence Committee for the WEU Assembly, told a press conference here the WEU "should offer to help prevent supplies reaching Serbia overland." He added a more "positive role" was needed to protect humanitarian convoys into Bosnia-Hercegovina.

The parliamentary mission Tuesday and Wednesday joined patrol ships from the WEU and NATO in the Adriatic to survey controls on the blockade of the rump Yugoslav state. It presented its conclusions Wednesday to Italy, which holds the presidency of the European defence organisation.

Operation Sharp Vigilance, which has since mid-July detected 16 suspected embargo-breaking ships, has already helped reduce the amount of trade reaching the Montenegrin ports of Kotor and Bar.

Sir Dudley Thursday said the two ports "need to be sealed off in order to make the embargo effective... The operation should be enhanced to a level where we have a blockade."

Should the United Nations give the go-ahead for inspection of suspected embargo-breakers, the WEU and NATO would require five more ships to add to the four WEU and eight NATO vessels already patrolling, a member of the mission said.

Smith added he was "particularly worried" to learn from the surveillance vessels a Greek ship has visited a port in Montenegro on several occasions. The ship gave a vague reply when asked what it was carrying, Sir Dudley said.

Greece's full membership of the WEU is expected to be ratified soon as a member of both NATO and the EC.

Sir Dudley called for Athens to stop the suspect boat's operations.

Article Views Kosovars as 'Autochthonous'

AU2708154692 Tirana ATA in English 0823 GMT 27 Aug 92

["The Right of the Majority and the Historical Right"]

[Text] Tirana, August 27 (ATA)—The reporter Rafael Floqi writes:

The London conference, which started on August 26, will decide once and for ever on the fate of the Albanians of Kosovo, hence the world is once more deciding on its fate. The Albanians have given their opinion through democratic ways in the elections for the Assembly of Kosovo. These are rules of democracy. The Albanians make up the majority, 90 percent of the population of their Kosovo, hence the majority has decided and through a Gandhian self-sacrifice have shown to Europe it is a civilized nation.

Albanians have pinned many hopes on Europe, but what about Europe?

Will Europe listen this time to the voice of the majority, or another 1913 will be repeated, will there be a strategic right hidden after "historical" arguments?

Hence, an historical right.

All Serb arguments are based on the thesis that "since in Middle Ages Kosovo has been center of the Serb state. Albanians went there by 17-18th centuries, after the Austrian-Ottoman War of 1663-1669, when a part of the Serb population withdrew in the North and it was replaced by the Albanians of Northern Albania."

But this thesis does not resist the profound survey of history, because in Kosovo, since antiquity, many political formations have emerged and developed which little by little passed from the tribal stage into real kingdoms such as the Dardans, Panests, Paonians.

Dardania, as the greatest part of Southern Illyria, was not romanized. It remained intact or it was affected very little by the great exodus of the peoples in the 6th or 7th centuries, including the Slavs' exodus.

The Slav occupation of the Northern and North-Eastern territories was in a later period in the 9th century, when the Albanian people and their language and culture were formed. It is proved that Albanian-Serb relations have started only in the 12th and 15th centuries, when these territories were occupied by Serb feudals of Diokle (Zete) and Rasha, politically coexisting with the Slav population. Stephan Dushan himself, who in 1333-1335 expanded his domination up to Lezhe, Prizren, Pristina mentions in regard to the territories of Kosovo whole villages named Arbanas, such as for instance nine villages in the vicinity of Prizren, near Manastir of Saint Mihal and Gavril.

The occupation and creation of a feudal class of Serb majority does not mean that the population was not Albanian. On the other hand, the concept of medieval chancelleries for nationality, which was based most commonly on political-religious communities and not on the ethnic-cultural ones, named the Albanians Orthodox of Kosovo, placing them in the same political-religious but not ethno-cultural community with the Serbs. Hence, they were considered "Serb" and later "Turkish."

But the Albanian population did not settle there by the Turkish enemy. It fought from the Lake of Shkoder up to Kosovo along with the Christian armies, something shown also by the participation of Gjergj Balsha with an army, which according to Turkish chronicles, was made up of 5,000 people in the Balkan battle of 1389. This defeat left a free hand to Albanian leaders. Some of them were rather powerful to expand their domination as it happened with Gjon Kastriot, the father of Scanderbeg. Therefore, there is no reason to believe that Ottomans in this stage of their occupation were based, especially on the Albanians, in order to oppose the Slavs.

The Ottoman written documents of the 16th century of the Rrafsh of Dukagjin of Altun Ilia (Gjakova), which have Prizren, Peje, Janeve, and Noverberde testify that the population, being Catholic, held in most cases Albanian names. Only Orthodox population had to some extend influences of political and religious factors of the Serb domination. It was precisely this Albanian population, which to be distinguished by the Serbia in the second half of the 16th century, was islamized.

The Ottoman occupation did not change in essence the ethno-cultural physiognomy of the Albanian nationality in Kosovo and the Rrafsh of Dukagjin. Because of the resistance of the popular masses, the Ottoman occupiers, after they ruined the Serb state apparatus and the feudal class and in order to create a popular support in the country, were forced to accept in their ranks local feudal stratum so that to guarantee a social support in the country. Hence, the great contrast existing between the foreign ruling class and the local autochthonous population disappeared.

Austrian documents, too, testify to the falsity of the Albanian deportation. The documents of the Austrian command of the 1st of April 1960, of General Marsil testify that "Prizren is the capital of Albania," that "Peje and Shkup [Skopje] were included in Albania," that "The Albanian was spoken in the territories of Kosovo," etc. The Emperor Leopold I himself, when speaking of his armies entering Kosovo, says that "He was fighting in Albania."

The Albanian uprisers themselves took part in the battle alongside the Austrian Army in February 1690 in the Gryka e Kacanikut and following the failure they continued the fight against the Ottomans.

In fact while speaking of these details, the documents do not mention any important case of deserbization of

Kosovo, because in fact they were very few Serb deportations as the one led by the Patriarch of Peje. But Albanians too were deported, to which testifies their presence in Slavonia.

Hence it is clear that a great part of the Albanian population was in Kosovo since prior to the Turkish occupation and it is not necessary to suppose the outbreak of massive migrations in explaining this fact. Hence is it is not the Albanians that occupied Kosovo, but since the antiquity it was in the most part Illyrian-Albanian.

Therefore the historic deceipts cannot create the historic right, a right which the Albanian people of Kosovo prove with their presence as a majority.

Assembly Substitutes Deputies, Replacements Sought

AU2808071192 Tirana Radio Tirana Network in Albanian 1730 GMT 27 Aug 92

[Pandeli Shehu report from the People's Assembly]

[Text] The People's Assembly began its proceedings this afternoon with a plenary session. The session approved two other members of the Commission of Mandates and Immunity, specifically deputies Lindita Prifti and Aferdita Zeri.

This commission later met to discuss the substitution of several deputies who have been assigned duties that cannot be reconciled with the duties of a deputy.

Deputy Sadedin Balla, chairman of the commission, reported at the end of the meeting. He said that Deputy Gjergj Rakaj of the Social Democratic Party replaces Deputy Lisien Bashkurti, who has been appointed ambassador to Romania. Deputies Mira Kauri, Arben Lika, and Napolon Roshi replace three Democratic Party [PD] deputies: Bashkim Gazidede, chairman of the National Intelligence Service [ShIK]; Skender Shkupi, ambassador to Turkey; and Besnik Mustafai, ambassador to France. Mr. Balla said that with two documents sent to the People's Assembly Presidency, the PD has asked to remove from the list of deputies the names of Arben Demeti, No. 20, Prec Zogaj, No. 21, and Shahin Kadare, No. 22, and to include the three deputies we mentioned previously, that is, Mira Kauri, Arben Lika, and Napoleon Roshi in the list of deputies and proclaim them PD deputies.

Many deputies asked questions and discussed this problem. They required explanations of why names in the list are skipped over. Such an action by the deputies Ndre Legisti and Arben Imami was considered illegal. The deputies said the matter should be discussed on the basis of the law and not political criteria.

In their statements, on the other hand, many PD deputies stressed that the judicial and political aspects should be seen in close connection with each other. That is why the previous action is regular. Meanwhile, as you can hear, discussion about this problem continues. We will report its conclusion in later broadcasts. Good bye.

Diplomatic Relations Established With Qatar

AU2608160892 Tirana Radio Tirana Network in Albanian 1330 GMT 26 Aug 92

[Text] Proceeding from the desire to strengthen and develop relations of friendship and cooperation between the two countries, the Albanian Government and that of the state of Qatar decided to establish diplomatic relations at the ambassadorial level beginning on 26 August.

Both sides express their conviction that the establishment of diplomatic relations and the service of ambassadors will help international development and cooperation, strengthen world peace, and support the high principles of the Nonaligned Movement.

Ganev Letter on EC Association Handed to Hurd

AU2708181692 Sofia BTA in English 1742 GMT 27 Aug 92

[correspondent Krasimira Chervenkova]

[Text] London, August 27 (BTA)—A letter from Foreign Minister Stoyan Ganev addressed to Mr. Douglas Hurd in his capacity as secretary of state for foreign and commonwealth affairs of Britain, which is holding the Presidency of the EC, was presented in the Foreign Office today. Veneta Momcheva, spokesperson for the Bulgarian Foreign Ministry, said the letter expresses the Bulgarian Government's assessment of the progress of the association negotiations with the EC. The results of the first three rounds suggest the negotiations can be completed very soon, the letter says.

Bulgaria sees the progress achieved so far as an expression of the readiness of the EC and its member states to support the democratic process and economic reforms and praises strongly the efforts of the EC Commission and its member states. At the same time, the letter says the Bulgarian Government is concerned over the lack of progress in important areas of the negotiations. The Bulgarian side believes the liberalization of the EC markets is a more effective support for Bulgaria's economy than direct financial aid. That is why it is a cause for particular concern that even after the third round, trade negotiations are still in an initial phase, the letter says. Bulgaria hopes to be treated as favourably as Poland, Hungary and Czecho-Slovakia, the letter says in conclusion.

Finance Minister Questioned on Foreign Debt

AU2608081192 Sofia OTECHESTVEN VESTNIK in Bulgarian 20 Aug 92 pp 1, 2

[Interview with Finance Minister Ivan Kostov by Kostantsa Ancheva; place and date not given: "Chance for Reform Lies in Rate of Development of Economic Initiative"]

[Excerpts] [Ancheva] What is the reason for the government's reservations about a debt for equity swap in favor of the creditor banks?

[Kostov] The Bulgarian Government is being very careful in drafting a clause on a debt for equity swap in our future agreement with the creditor banks. In the new expanded agreement that we have submitted to one group of banks we propose a clause on exchanging debt for equity. This, however, does not make us any less careful, because we consider that the question can only be settled in the context of an all-embracing, one-off agreement on reducing the debt and servicing it, in which a reduced debt recorded in an appropriate document serves as an instrument entitling the bank in question or an investor in Bulgaria to acquire property. In other words, first we must have the agreement, then an exchange may take place.

[Ancheva] A lobby has formed in parliament that is demanding a softer position on foreign debt and an immediate resumption of interest and capital payments. What is your view on this?

[Kostov] I do not know what group is being formed in parliament, but if anyone claims that Bulgaria can pay interest and capital, I would only say that he is incompetent, because this is impossible. I do not believe that anyone would claim such a thing. Servicing the interest and the capital relating to our credits involves a gigantic sum of money that our country cannot afford at present. Anyone who wants Bulgaria to do this is sentencing our country to certain disaster. Accordingly, I will listen with attention and amazement to such voices, if indeed they do propose this.

[Ancheva] Nevertheless, Bulgaria modified some of its views when it proposed making foreign debt interest payments of the order of $70 to 80 million. Has this money been earmarked in the budget and, if not, how will it be provided?

[Kostov] It is true that Bulgaria has taken steps to accommodate the creditor banks by agreeing to start paying interest—overdue interest first and foremost, but maybe also some current interest. Naturally, these interest payments are reduced within the framework of the reduction that we foresee will form part of our proposed extended agreement. These amounts have not been provided in the 1992 budget. However, if we do manage to sign an interim agreement they will be paid, and the payment will be made when the necessary money has been provided. There are two ways of doing this: Either we can directly increase the budget deficit, for example by obtaining an internal credit from the bank and using the money to purchase the $70-80 million required, or we can borrow this money from the State Fund for Reconstruction and Development, in which case the money will again pass through the budget and be accounted for as an increase in the budget deficit. We have to do it like this because the country has no other money available. This is how this money will be provided. [passage omitted]

[Ancheva] Why is it difficult to reach agreement with certain creditor banks?

[Kostov] The main reason we are finding it difficult to sign agreements with the Paris Club group of banks is that they do not understand our position. In fact, we are convinced that the only problems remaining are with Spain and the Netherlands. They find it difficult to accept the Bulgarian side's explanation that the government cannot accept as a state debt debts incurred by commercial banks partially owned by the state. On the other hand, they find it difficult to understand the clause in the Constitution under which agreements for the Bulgarian Government to take over a debt from the Bulgarian Foreign Trade Bank must be ratified by parliament. This has caused a certain distrust that in my

view is the main reason for the holdup in the negotiations. We held serious negotiations with the Netherlands representative and the Netherlands ambassador here—Mr. Posthumus and Mrs. Meertins. They are executive directors on the board of the fund and the bank, and I think that we will make an attempt to overcome our difficulties with the Netherlands. Regarding the other countries, I believe that we can sign agreements with them, although they claim that this "ploy" of parliament having to ratify agreements only exists in the United States. Only there does the Congress monitor the government's financial actions to the extent that parliament does in Bulgaria. [passage omitted]

[Ancheva] I had an argument with a colleague over whether you are protecting the government or whether the government is protecting you. My colleague asserts that the government must fall because it has only one strong minister—the minister of finance. What is your comment on this view?

[Kostov] This is completely untrue. I am a man who speaks nothing but the truth. I have never told lies since my childhood. For me, lying is one of the greatest sins. I try to tell the truth as I see it. The government does not have one strong minister. It has a group of strong ministers—people who make a large contribution to the cabinet's work. This government and these people support me. This is the truth, if we pose the question like this. By the word "support" I understand that they try to defend me against the attacks that it is evidently my duty to endure. On the other hand—and this is much more serious and important—they are people who form a buttress for the government's policy, share the government's responsibilities, and do not celebrate national holidays, preferring to work on the vitally important issues. Among them, I must single out one man who has helped me the most, although it was not his duty to do so. I refer to Svetoslav Luchnikov, who sacrificed his last weekend to work with me on the tax reform, and will do the same next weekend. Thus, my answer is that the government has a group of serious and strong people who fully understand the seriousness of our situation and who, I would add, have confidence in their strength as well.

[Ancheva] Does this mean that you do not regard the changes envisaged for September as being too serious, and that the predictions made by Ahmed Dogan, Dimitur Ludzhev, and others will not come true?

[Kostov] I do not see any problems, nor do I see from where they may come. [passage omitted]

1 Million ECU's Donated To Privatize Tourism

AU2708162692 Sofia BTA in English 1545 GMT 27 Aug 92

[Text] Sofia, August 27 (BTA)—The decentralization and demonopolization of tourism have been completed, which is a prerequisite for privatization, Slaveyko Bozhinov, chairman of the Committee for Tourism, told a news conference today. Under the Commercial Code all 89 state-owned companies in the tourist industry were transformed into 130 joint-stock companies and 30 limited liability companies. The Committee for Tourism is developing a concept and a programme for privatization, which will be specified once the statutory instruments related to the Privatization Act are finalized. The Council of Ministers will probably publish them by the year's end.

The committee has already taken steps towards privatization. Property to the amount of up to 5 per cent of the fixed assets will be sold by auction soon.

The Arco Anderson Company of Spain has won a tender and will work out a privatization strategy for the tourist industry. The Operation PHARE [Economic and Reconstruction Aid for Poland and Hungary Program] has granted 1 million ECU [European currency units] for the purpose. Experts of the company and the Committee for Tourism will take stock of the property, divide companies into categories, and privatize them within a year.

Privatization will take various forms. The major ones will be tenders and negotiations with buyers who will have to meet certain requirements concerning investment, the preservation of the facilities' functions, qualifications of the staff, job preservation and job creation.

Foreign Ministry Supports No-Fly Zone Decision

LD2708212392 Bratislava Rozhlasova Stanica Slovensko Network in Slovak 1930 GMT 27 Aug 92

[Text] The Federal Ministry of Foreign Affairs expressed its full support for the decision of Western allies to create a no-fly zone over the southern regions of Iraq. (Jana Hybaskova), director of the so-called Arab Department of the ministry, confirmed this to diplomats from the United States, Great Britain, and Russia, who appealed for support for their plan, which is intended to protect Iraqi Shi'ites from the attacks by the troops of Saddam Husayn.

Government Allocates Funds for Yugoslav Refugees

LD2708133692 Prague CSTK in English 1954 GMT 26 Aug 92

[Text] Prague Aug 26 (CSTK)—The Czechoslovak cabinet today released from the government budget over 13 million korunas (about 473,000 USD) [US dollars] for granting temporary asylum to refugees from the war-torn former territory of Yugoslavia.

The cabinet also agreed with the use of funds worth 2.7 million korunas (about 100,000 USD), allocated to the Czecho-Slovak Red Cross Committee from the state budget, for humanitarian aid to refugees from former Yugoslavia. This aid is to be used for persons who have asked neither for refugee status nor for temporary asylum in Czechoslovakia.

The Czechoslovak cabinet will submit to the United Nations a document containing the calculation of the impact of U.N.-imposed sanctions on Yugoslavia on the Czechoslovak economy.

Federal Premier Jan Strasky said that Czechoslovakia's losses owing to the sanctions amount to about 300 million USD. The losses were caused mainly by the cancellation of trade accords and transport stoppages.

Klaus Confident Termination Bill Will Be Passed

LD2708224892 Prague CSTK in English 1523 GMT 27 Aug 92

[Text] Prague Aug. 27 (CSTK)—Czech Premier and ODS [Civic Democratic Party] Chairman Vaclav Klaus today said he thinks it will be possible to ensure that a bill on ways of terminating the Czechoslovak Federation is passed by the Czechoslovak parliament in September.

"We must be prepared for all catastrophic scenarios, but our calculations...indicate that it could be possible to ensure the passing of the bill through parliament", Klaus told a press conference here.

The passing of the bill is one of the points in a timetable, agreed upon Klaus and HZDS [Movement for a Democratic Slovakia] leader Vladimir Meciar at their talks in Brno on Wednesday [26 August], of steps leading to the breakup of the Czechoslovak Federation.

Klaus said that in the second stage after January 1, 1993, when two independent states will come into being, separate currencies with a fixed 1:1 exchange rate will be constituted. This must be done still at the time when the Czech and Slovak economies are identical, he said, adding that later different economic development may change the rate.

Klaus said that after the breakup of the federation there will remain many areas which will overlap, giving as an example the Czechoslovak Army. "The details will be the subject of further debates", he said.

Not all institutions will cease to exist after the breakup, for instance the Central Bank, Klaus added.

Parties Comment on 26 Aug ODS-HZDS Talks

LD2708142892 Prague CSTK in English 1223 GMT 27 Aug 92

[Text] Prague Aug 27 (CSTK)—Jan Krycer, chairman of the opposition HSD-SMS [Self-Governing Democracy Movement-Society for Moravia and Silesia], today described yesterday's talks between the Czech and Slovak election winners, the ODS [Civic Democratic Party] and the HZDS [Movement for a Democratic Slovakia], as talks that "decided on us without us".

"I think that citizens should be given the right to express themselves on such a serious question as a definitive split of the state", Krycer said in an interview with CSTK.

"The KDH [Christian Democratic Movement] will support an (independent) Slovak Republic and its closest possible relations with the Czech Republic", KDH Chairman and Slovak ex-premier Jan Carnogursky told a press conference in Bratislava today.

He said the KDH will seek support for an independent Slovakia on the international political scene which, according to him, does not mean that the KDH is giving up the possibility of preserving the common state of Czechs and Slovaks.

"We are realists, we don't want to play a quixotic role", Carnogursky said.

The Chairman of the Slovak national-oriented SNS [Slovak National Party], Jozef Prokes, today said he considers January 1, 1993 the best date for terminating the Czechoslovak Federation.

At a press conference in Bratislava today, he said that by that time separate budgets of the (independent) Czech and Slovak Republics for 1993 should be adopted in accordance with the ODS-HZDS political agreements.

On the agreement on a customs and monetary union reached at yesterday's ODS-HZDS talks, Prokes said this economic link might endanger Slovakia's economic sovereignty.

He described payments between the Czech and Slovak Republics on a dollar basis as an alternative solution.

Czech National Council (Parliament) Chairman Milan Uhde today told CSTK that the results of Wednesday's ODS-HZDS talks are an impulse for the further work of the Czech Parliament.

He said the deputies continue their work on a Czech Constitution and are now waiting for the results of relevant government "minicommissions" of economic ministers.

The opposition LSU [Liberal Social Union] does not see any reason for changing anything in its political programme and is still convinced that the "ruling parties have no mandate to break up the (Czechoslovak) republic, LSU Chairman Frantisek Trnka told CSTK in Prague today.

Commenting on Wednesday's ODS-HZDS talks in Brno, he said the LSU realises that the public opinion, influenced by the ruling parties, is now actually in favour of Czechoslovakia's split. Therefore the party wants to contribute to forming Czech statehood and at the same time to establishing the closest possible relations between the Czech republic and Slovakia, Trnka said.

The KSCM [Communist Party of Bohemia and Moravia] sees the results of the ODS-HZDS talks as a continuation of the process of deciding state setup questions with both the citizens and legislative bodies excluded, KSCM Chairman Jiri Svoboda told journalists today.

He said the only positive thing about the ODS-HZDS talks in Brno is that both parties envisage working out the principles of the two republics' cooperation in some areas before Czechoslovakia's breakup.

The Czech Government coalition party, KDU-CSL [Christian Democratic Union-Czechoslovak People's Party], favours "a speedy and dignified separation of the Slovak Republic and a subsequent division of Czechoslovakia", KDU-CSL Chairman Josef Lux told a news conference here today.

Referring to yesterday's ODS-HZDS [Civic Democratic Party-Movement for a Democratic Slovakia] talks in Brno, at which a timetable for Czechoslovakia's breakup was agreed, Lux, the Czech deputy premier and agriculture minister, said: "However much we may regret this development, we do not intend to hinder it, but rather speed it up".

CSSD [Czechoslovak Social Democratic Party] Chairman Jiri Horak commented that the ODS and HZDS have no mandate for dividing the country. The CSSD insists on settling the issue of Czechoslovakia's future by referendum, he said.

The MKDH [Hungarian Christian Democratic Movement] said today it supports a referendum as the only legitimate way of dividing Czechoslovakia.

The KDS [Christian Democratic Party] regards the date of January 1, 1993 for dividing Czechoslovakia into two dependent states as very suitable. It its statement, the KDS insists that the process of division should be cultured, legally pure, considerate towards the citizens and if possible "effective" in relation towards foreign countries.

Czechoslovak ex-Foreign Minister and Civic Movement (OH) Chairman Jiri Dienstbier said Wednesday's ODS-HZDS talks in Brno expressed a responsible approach with the aim to minimise the negative consequences of Czechoslovakia's division.

Dienstbier said he thinks the difference between the approaches of the HZDS and ODS to the future state setup is beginning to diminish and the two sides search for a new relationship that will replace the present constitutional system.

The chairman of the Egyutteles (Coexistence) Movement, Miklos Duray, said today that the agreements reached by the ODS and HZDS representatives in Brno on Wednesday have brought nothing new. The only "novelty" is the explicit declaration that two independent republics will come into being on January 1, 1993, he said.

Duray believes the timetable for creating conditions for the establishment of the two states can be hardly fulfilled. He predicted problems to arise when a bill on dividing property, especially property outside Czechoslovakia, is discussed.

In a statement given to CSTK today, the SPR-RSC [Assembly for the Republic-Czechoslovak Republican Party] describes the results of the ODS-HZDS talks as "an example of absolute wilfulness and ignoring the wishes of the majority of the citizens of Czechoslovakia".

Meciar Comments on Slovak Constitution

LD2708110292 Bratislava Rozhlasova Stanica Slovensko Network in Slovak 1000 GMT 26 Aug 92

[Interview with Slovak Premier Vaclav Meciar by correspondents Bulakova and Pospisilova; place not given; on 25 August—recorded]

[Excerpts] [Correspondent] Mr. Premier, we are interviewing you after the meeting of the Slovak Government. Although it was known to have taken place, the agenda had been made into a certain secret. What were you discussing? I am asking this because it has been rumored that the meeting of the government considered withdrawing the draft Slovak Constitution.

[Meciar] The issue stands as follows: Other political parties have raised two types of commments. One type is factual and concerns the draft consitution's contents. Those comments are very, very few in number. The second type concerns the constitution's form. Some people think that a comma should be put elsewhere, or a letter changed. There are plenty of those kind of comments. Then there are those of a blatantly political kind.

Therefore, what we are discussing today is whether the constitution will have the backing of certain political parties. As you know, the Party of the Democratic Left [SDL] has stated that it would confer, and unless its decisions are backed, it will be voting against the constitution. We have reasons to believe that the position of the Slovak National Party [SNS] is not quite aboveboard either. We have agreed that political comments have to be withdrawn, and positions of a specialized nature have to replace them. But what the experts have proposed is not clear either.

The government has therefore decided that I have the task of asking the Slovak National Council [SNC] for its position on the draft constitution, to evaluate the relevance of comments, to assess whether the comments are in harmony with the character of the government-sponsored draft, and to discuss with political parties the extent of their support for the constitution. If it doesn't enjoy the support of other political parties, the government will decide where to go from there. It is possible that it could be taken off the agenda of the SNC proceedings.

The Christian Democrats will be against anything we write down, even if we insert their own program. The Hungarian Christian Democratic Movement and Egyutteles are in a sharply defined position because they are looking for rights of autonomy for minorities. If these are not there, they will not vote in favor. The rest is up to SNS and SDL. One of them finds certain things hard to understand, and the other interprets what is national in a way dfferent than us.

The question is, therefore, to what extent political interests will be subordinated to the actual character of the constitution. Let them write about the constitution what they will. It is of an international standard, and it is a document which guarantees civic and human rights on a high level. It democratically restructures the highest bodies. We are looking for corrective mechanisms of a political and factual kind which could emerge in these structures.

The drawing up of the constitution is a complex procedure. It is an important document. We are grateful to everybody who has contributed in a specific way. A certain degree of political comments could, after all, be considered during the debate. But one can say that, in this case, there have been too many.

Days when constitutions are adopted tend to be national holidays. To belittle a constitution before it even exists for its standard and significance, and to publicly make light of it is an act politicallly unworthy of a citizen and indeed of a deputy.

[Correspondent] What will happen if the extreme occurs and the draft Slovak constitution is withdrawn, under the circumstances which you just described, by the government as sponsors. What will lie in store for the Slovak constitution then?

[Meciar] The reason why we are speeding the constitution up is a political one. The constitution does not mean that we are liquidating the federation, but we are setting up an order for Slovak bodies which has not been worked out so far. Many laws in our country contravene democratic structures. When they ask us whether we want to enter Europe, we need to be able to have a constitution in order to show this is the program of the Slovak Republic. If we want to sort out our own mutual relationships in order to avoid conflicts over power, we need to define what the president, the government, the parliament, and other institutions can do. We need to agree the rules. [passage omitted]

[Correspondent] Mr. Premier, you have not given us a straight answer. Will the government withdraw the draft constitution next week or not?

[Meciar] I will reply with another question. Can one anticipate today what the outcome of my talks with the PDL and SNP will be? If I were certain of the outcome, I would know what to do. [passage omitted]

[Correspodent] This week, the papers have been covering the report compiled by deputy Hvezdon Koctuch from the talks with the World Bank and the IMF. Many agree that the report means a change in the government's policy statement and that the report has a right-wing character.

[Meciar] The report has been discussed at the IMF. I myself have spoken to and keep meeting IMF representatives. There exists different views and positions according to which group one is talking to. The IMF does not promote a single policy. It knows that there are many facets to policies in the world, and that is why it has given space to alternative policies, such as we have.

The report printed in the newspapers has been written for members of the SNC presidium. It should not have been published. [passage omitted]

I am familiar with the report's content. There will be no change to the government's policy statement. The report is seen as the position of the people who have been consulted. For this reason, another delegation is arriving now [not further specified] which will work differently. [passage omitted]

The IMF has recognized the reality of the government's policy statement. It has found several states in the world with an identical program, where no one doubts their market economy orientation and democratic and social

policies. The IMF said that these alternatives spoke in our favor. [passage omitted]

[Correspondent] One more question on the secret, or working draft, material on a possible union between the Czech and Slovak Republics. They say it has been a test balloon by the Movement for a Democratic Slovakia [HZDS] to gauge the reaction of individual political subjects.

[Meciar] Things are much more simple than people say. Various working groups and subgroups have been set up to prepare materials. One of them has—apart from other things—compiled such a proposal to establish a union. It numbers over 300 pages.

I have briefed the chairman, both deputy chairmen [of the SNC] and the deputy premier on the proposal in my office. [passage omitted]

Mr. Jozef Prokes [deputy chairman SNC] had known that the proposal was not HZDS material or a position of the government. He also knew that it was not the view of the working group, but merely a compilation by one of the subgroups. He then proceeded to create a political sensation to benefit the SNS. I see it as bad behavior and a grave political mistake, because he has caused a conflict before the adoption of the constitution. What good does it serve? [passage omitted]

Only the deputies to the parliaments will decide on the future set up of Czechoslovakia. Only development will show whether it will be a union or some other arrangement with no interconnection in the form of regular bodies, merely ad hoc ones. The development will be open for some months. After all, other states take several years.

Slovak Deputies Discuss Impact of New Oath

LD2708135692 Bratislava Rozhlasova Stanica Slovensko Network in Slovak 1000 GMT 26 Aug 92

[Excerpts] On 21 August, deputies from the Slovak National Council [SNC] Constitutional Committee endorsed Paragraph 159 of the draft of the Slovak Republic Constitution on the taking of a new oath. Also discussed in this connection was whether the aforementioned paragraph constitutes an attack on the opposition in the Slovak parliament. Editor Anna Korbova has gathered several experts' views on this issue.

[Begin recording] [Korbova] First of all, let's recall the wording of the Paragraph 159 of the draft Slovak Republic Constitution. I quote: The day after this constitution comes into force, Slovak National Council deputies are to take the oath according to paragraph 73. Refusal to take the oath or taking the oath with an objection constitutes the cessation of that deputy's mandate. End of quote.

Milan Secansky, chairman of SNC Constitutional Committee and deputy from the Movement for a Democratic Slovakia, speaks about the meaning of this paragraph.

[Secansky] Deputies took the oath to the Federal Constitution. If the Slovak Republic Constitution were to be adopted—and I presume it will be adopted—and if the Federation ceased to exist, then the requirement that the deputies, who will continue to be SNC deputies, should take an oath to this Constitution, is absolutely natural. [passage omitted]

[Korbova] Speaking now is Frantisek Miklosko, SNC deputy from Christian Democratic Movement.

[Miklosko] In my view, we should talk about this new paragraph, paragraph 159, which was incorporated into the draft of the constutition in a wider context. Paragraph 159, which was introduced by Premier Meciar is linked to (?Constitution's) final clauses. The fundamental issue, which is the striking feature of these final clauses, is the fact that the Slovak Constitution comes into force on the day of its promulgation. In force since that moment are only constitutional laws and Slovak republic laws as well as the laws that do not contradict them.

I would like to make an example of what the meaning of " will be. The Slovak Republic president is commar in-chief of the armed forces in the Slovak Republic, wh.. we still have a common republic, there is still a valid provision that the army is led by the minister of national defense, who is at the moment, Mr. Andrejcak. But nobody explains how the army will in fact be led, who will be its leader, and who will command it.

I would like to point out that this is how Yugoslavia and the former Soviet Union started all their unrest and wars. And so, taking an oath of this kind means taking up coresponsibility for a further development and for everything that will be happening here. But the fact that this oath is related to the loss of the deputy's mandate is something so new, that the only comparison that springs to mind is the brutal intervention into the legal system in 1948.

It is such a fundamental violation of the generally recognized legal order that I personally feel the need to say at this moment that this proposal introduced by Premier Meciar into the Constitutional Committee—and the Constitutional Committee agreed with it—is an initiation of dictatorship in Slovakia. However, Christian Democrats have their own experience with dictatorship and are not going to submit to it. We are resolved to subject these issues to a very thorough discussion both in Slovakia and abroad. [passage omitted] [end recording]

Foreign Minister Views London Conference Results

LD2808084192 Budapest MTI in English 0658 GMT 28 Aug 92

[Text] Budapest, August 28 (MTI)—"The London Conference may well mark a turning point, since the adopted documents contain not only concrete measures for resolving the south Slav crisis, but also guarantee their implementation," Hungarian Foreign Minister Geza Jeszenszky said after returning from London to Budapest on late Thursday [27 August] evening.

He said it was highly important that the documents holding the possibility of peace had been adopted in the presence of the world's leading politicians.

Jeszenszky termed the declaration on Bosnia and the document entitled "A Few Special Decisions of the London Conference" sensational.

The declaration on Bosnia, he said, calls for the evacuation of the occupied territories, the recognition of the independence of Bosnia-Hercegovina by the other south Slav states, the adoption of the present borders, the stoppage of "ethnic cleansing," the return of expellees and the cessation of foreign intervention of any kind.

According to the document, representatives from the three main communities of Bosnia-Hercegovina would start talks about setting up a democratic, multi-cultural and multi-national state.

Hungary believes these decisions are the result of a realistic assessment of the Bosnian situation, and suitable to put a halt to bloodshed, Jeszenszky said.

The document on special decisions provides for discontinuing acts of violence (besiege and blockade of cities), surrendering heavy arms, putting all armed forces under central control and continuously reducing armaments in the region under international supervision, Jeszenszky said.

Jeszenszky said that the great powers had taken a highly resolute stand at the conference. Everybody realized that the situation is untenable and discredits the new Europe on the way to emerge, he said.

It was important that the Serbian leader had also undertaken to carry out the decisions passed, and hope for a radical turn can be drawn from disarmament, the effective organization of supervision and several initiatives aimed at settling the minorities, problems.

"With these documents, the world has accepted such moral responsibility for peace, cease-fire and subsequent political settlement that there will be no way to return. Should the agreement reached be not observed, the international community will have to move in any case," the Hungarian foreign minister said.

Refugee Camp To Remain Open Until Law on Aliens

LD2608175192 Budapest MTI in English 1615 GMT 26 Aug 92

[Text] Budapest, August 26 (MTI)—The temporary refugee camp at Kerepestarcsa, near Budapest, which has been a constant source of tension since it opened more than a year ago, cannot be shut down until a law on aliens is enacted.

After a conference on camp conditions, national police headquarters deputy leader, Brigadier General Andras Turos, at a press briefing at the camp, also said that residents of the camp were due fundamental human rights and authorities tried to create better conditions for them. Present at the conference was the UN High Commissioner for Refugees Thomas Birath.

There have been reports of tension at the camp since its opening, mainly because the majority of the economic refugees who arrive in Hungary from Asia and Africa are staying in the country without permits. They are temporarily held in Kerepestarcsa until the end of proceedings and their return to their native countries. The accommodation and return travel of refugees is a major burden for the Hungarian state—3,000 refugees have been returned so far on board 39 airplanes, at a cost of 300 million Hungarian forints.

As more illegal aliens are expected to arrive in Hungary, the camp must continue to be maintained and the authorities said they would strive to meet humanitarian standards, for which the Red Cross had also volunteered assistance, by providing food and clothing for the camp residents.

European Gypsies Parliament Established in Budapest

LD2708202292 Budapest MTI in English 1710 GMT 27 Aug 92

[Text] Budapest, August 27 (MTI)—The European Roma Parliament (Eurom) was set up in Budapest on Thursday [27 August] by 22 gypsy organizations from ten European countries.

Participants approved a protest statement which they addressed to the politicians and citizens of Europe. In the document, they demand that no one allow or tolerate violent manifestations against gypsies by racist groups.

"Throughout our history, we have been outcasts, persecuted and discriminated against, and driven in all parts of the earth," the statutes of the pluralistic, democratic European Roma Parliament notes.

The idea to set up a pan-European gypsy organization came up in Munich in 1990, but the opportunity to realize this has come about only now.

The statutes of Eurom, as was reported at a press conference in Budapest on Thursday, state the main goal

of the European Roma Parliament is to wage a fight against discrimination, and to protect the legal and welfare interests of the gypsies.

Eurom also wishes to contribute to fostering the cultural traditions, of the some 10 million European gypsies.

All European gypsy organizations that have at least 200 members can be members of Eurom, if they accept the goals set down in the statutes. Foundations, donations and economic activity will provide the financial basis of the organization.

Aladar Horvath, member of the Hungarian Parliament and leader of the Hungarian Roma Parliament, said a plenary session, at which the Eurom leadership will be democratically elected, could be held within three months.

Defense Ministry Says Army Reorganization Completed

LD2708111192 Budapest MTI in English 1441 GMT 26 Aug 92

[Text] Budapest, August 26 (MTI)—Reorganization of the Hungarian Army has been completed, the Ministry of Defence told MTI on Wednesday [26 August].

The ministry's press department said that at the ministry's cabinet meeting Wednesday, Chief of Staff Lieutenant General Janos Deak reported on changes to Army organization over the last two years.

The reforms were needed to bring the Army's hierarchy and operations in line with the basic principles of national defence, and to pave the way for future technical upgrading, he said.

Radio President Protests Deputies' Action

LD2508163592 Budapest Kossuth Radio Network in Hungarian 1000 GMT 25 Aug 92

[Text] The president of Hungarian Radio has addressed a letter to the speaker of the National Assembly in connection with yesterday's demonstration in front of the Radio Building.

Csaba Gombar held it as a grievance that four parliamentary deputies, producing their identity cards, entered the building of the institution and had the radio staff read the demonstrators' proclamation in their program. The status of a deputy cannot be used for the enforcement of the objectives of any kind of demonstration, and this action placed in a precarious situation the policemen assigned to protect the building, Csaba Gombar wrote in his letter. The president of radio recalled that editing programs is an exclusive right, duty, and responsibility of staff members of radio and he expects them to give information on everything in line with normal practice. In his letter to Gyorgy Szabad, Csaba Gombar asked for the support of the political forces of parliament to ensure that this is observed.

SPA Approves Plan for Tisza Chemical Works

LD2708201892 Budapest MTI in English 1604 GMT 27 Aug 92

[Text] Budapest, August 27 (MTI-ECONEWS)—The State Property Agency [SPA] has approved a privatization plan for the Tisza Chemical Works (Tiszai Vegyi Kombinat, TVK), a 95-per-cent state-owned chemical company, an SPA spokesman told the press on Wednesday [26 August].

TVK is capitalized at HUF [Hungarian forints] 24 bn [billion] and has accumulated assets of HUF 7bn.

Under the privatization plan, TVK's geotextile (non-woven plastic fabric) plant, its metal box plant, printing house and hotel will be sold separately.

A decision will be taken in October regarding TVK's oil refinery and plastic factories, and its plastic processing unit. These account for 70 pc [percent] and 25 pc of TVK's output, respectively.

At present TVK's buys 70 per cent of its basic materials, including all of its industrial grade petrol, from Tifo, a member company of Mol RT, the Hungarian oil and gas company. Therefore the SPA may offer investors a package deal to buy Tifo and TVK together.

Some 30 companies, including large multinationals, have bought the SPA's prospectus on the company.

Last year, TVK's production was worth HUF 36bn. It had pre-tax profits of HUF 874m and export revenues of HUF 233m.

In the first half of this year, TVK had a net income of HUF 15.45bn, including export revenues of HUF 7.54bn.

5,000 Ursus Workers March Through Warsaw

LD2608175592 Warsaw Radio Warszawa Network in Polish 1005 GMT 26 Aug 92

[Text] Participants in the strike at the Ursus Engineering Plant today organized a protest march to the Belweder Palace and the building of the Office of the Council of Ministers. Here is a report from our reporter Andrzej Jelenski:

I have spoken to the chairman of the strike committee, who told me that the demonstrating workers, marching through the city streets in silence, have decided to hand over a petition at the Office of the Council of Ministers and the Belweder if someone comes out to them. The chairman of the strike committee also said that this is for them the only and ultimate form of solving the problems of state industry in Poland that must be quickly and radically revitalized.

Workers from Ursus are marching from the Srodmiescie railway station along Jerozolimskie Avenue and Nowy Swiat to the state buildings. Five thousand Ursus workers are participating in the march, as well as a group of 50 delegates from the Warsaw car factory and representatives of the Radom region Solidarity. The march is continuing.

Officials Receive Demonstrators

LD2608175992 Warsaw PAP in English 1257 GMT 26 Aug 92

[Text] Warsaw, Aug. 26—A delegation of 4,000 workers of the Ursus tractor factory demonstrating in front of the presidential palace on Wednesday [26 August] was received by Head of the President's Chancellery Minister Janusz Ziolkowski and Secretaries of State Andrzej Drzycimski and Mieczyslaw Wachowski.

Earlier in the day workers' representatives were received by Head of the Cabinet's Office Jan Maria Rokita and Industry Minister Waclaw Niewiarowski.

"I think all our interlocutors have understood that Ursus needs a programme that should be implemented," leader of the striking committee at Ursus Zygmunt Wrzodak said upon his return from the Belvedere.

'Solidarity-80' Leader Defends Strikes

AU2808091392 Warsaw RZECZPOSPOLITA in Polish 17 Aug 92 p 2

[Interview with Marian Jurczyk, chairman of "Solidarity-80," by Kazimierz Groblewski; place and date not given: "Poverty Has United Us"—first paragraph is RZECZPOSPOLITA introduction]

[Excerpts] We are talking in OPZZ [National Trade Union Confederation] chairman Ewa Spychalska's office. The heads of six unions (the OPZZ, "Solidarity-80," "Self-Defense," the Federation of Miners' Trade Unions, the Union of Polish Miners, and the Engine Drivers Trade Union) are next door discussing the details of a joint protest action.

[Groblewski] We are talking to the head of "Solidarity-80" in the OPZZ building.

[Jurczyk] Yes, but it has to be stated that the first meeting (of the six trade unions) took place at the Copper Combine in Lubin and the second at the strike-bound plants in Tychy, where "Solidarity-80" is the only union, there are no other unions there, and Mrs. Ewa Spychalska visited Tychy. If OPZZ representatives were able to come to a meeting where "Solidarity-80" is the only union, I see no obstacles to coming to the building where the OPZZ works.

[Groblewski] Do you mean to say the it was the OPZZ that was the first to extend a hand?

[Jurczyk] Well, it varied. The OPZZ has for some time offered a certain degree of cooperation, but we too, some two months ago, called on all trade unions to sit down at one table and work out a common position in light of the difficult situation in which the country finds itself. I do not need to hide the fact that the first union headquarters that we approached was that of the president's union, "Solidarity," in Gdansk. Unfortunately, we received no reply, and in the end we stopped waiting.

[Groblewski] Have you forged an alliance with these unions because "Solidarity" did not respond to your proposal?

[Jurczyk] No. This is definitely not an alliance. The headquarters of each union continue to enjoy full autonomy.

We met to pursue a goal of the highest order, that of defending working people, and the future of the Polish economy—what has united us at this particular point is poverty. However, I would like to state once more that certain differences did exist, do exist, and will no doubt remain. As you are from a government newspaper, I would like to point out that it is to the advantage of every government if there are a lot of union organizations, if they cannot reach agreement on key issues, and it is even better for the government if unions argue among themselves. The government benefits from that.

[Groblewski] If I could just make a minor correction to what you said—RZECZPOSPOLITA is not a government newspaper. However, I would like to return to the previous question. You said that you invited "Solidarity" to talks first, but there was no response. Does that mean that if it had responded, there would have been no agreement between the six unions?

[Jurczyk] If it had responded, we also would have talked with other unions.

[Groblewski] You said that it is not an alliance, so would you call it a coalition?

[Jurczyk] But only with respect to matters of the greatest importance.

[Groblewski] If it is a coalition formed around "matters of the greatest importance" and not those of an immediate kind, then why was it not formed earlier? What made "Solidarity-80" conclude an agreement with the OPZZ, a union that you used to term postcommunist?

[Jurczyk] Our union was, is, and will remain anticommunist, and nothing will change about that. However, what is at stake today is the proverbial bowl of soup. I never was a member of the party, so please do not take what I say to mean that I am defending the PZPR [Polish United Workers Party]. However, about 3 million Poles were members of the PZPR. One cannot make wholesale assessments of any kind of organization, regardless of whether it is a union or a political organization.

[Groblewski] I would like to remind you that you were able "to make wholesale assessments" of, for example, the roundtable agreement with the PZPR.

[Jurczyk] I was not assessing the principle of the roundtable, the idea of such a meeting. I tend to be portrayed as a radical, but I think that is something of an exaggeration. I was, am, and will remain someone who believes in talks as the first step. I continue to support the idea of a roundtable. But there are certain mechanisms that were not preserved at that roundtable.

At the moment we have economic reform, and Jurczyk, or the union that Jurczyk heads is not opposed to reform. We are in favor of economic reforms, and our demands reflect that. However, one condition is that those reforms must serve work forces, must serve society, and reform, privatization must boost the state budget, so that the health service, education, culture, and scientific establishments function properly.

[Groblewski] Are you not concerned that members of your union in the regions will be annoyed that you have concluded an agreement with the OPZZ?

[Jurczyk] The reverse is true. There would indeed have been a threat of a split in "Solidarity-80" if the talks had taken place several months earlier. However, when the situation in which every Pole finds himself today is clear-cut and unity among trade unions is needed more than ever before, there is no such danger.

[Groblewski] Do you not see some inconsistency about your approach in light of what you have been saying over the past few....

[Jurczyk] Yes, but matters of the greatest importance are at stake. [passage omitted]

[Groblewski] You say that the reforms are not serving society. What has to be changed?

[Jurczyk] That is a question of details.

[Groblewski] Those are not details, but the key issue is should the reforms be continued or stopped?

[Jurczyk] Yes, but I cannot tell what has to be done off the top of my head. I am not an economist, and I do not think that even an economist could tell you off the top of his head what a program contains. It is impossible. I can tell you what fundamental moves have to be made in Poland to stimulate the economy.

Taxation policy is the first thing. If 94 percent of a plant's profits are appropriated, then no such plant is in a position to function properly. Lending policy is the second issue. The Czechs have loans at between 14-17 percent depending on whether they are long- or short-term. In our case, it is very difficult for a plant to obtain a loan even if it exports what it produces. If it does obtain a loan, then the interest is very high. The third issue is tariffs policy. All manner of rubbish from other countries is flooding into the country, although Polish food products are often healthier and better than Western ones.

[Groblewski] Perhaps we really should leave those economic details. In your opinion, are we really experiencing a second August? Is the analogy a fair one?

[Jurczyk] There will undoubtedly be differences, but in general yes. During the 1980's we fought for the working man to be able to lead a dignified life in return for his honest work, and we are fighting for the same thing this year.

[Groblewski] At that time, the battle was waged against communist governments, and is what you term the same battle now being waged along with trade unions, such as the OPZZ, that you described as postcommunist unions?

[Jurczyk] We did not recognize those governments, and this government is being criticized too, but it is being criticized for managing the economy in an inappropriate manner.

[Groblewski] But you have not answered the question.

[Jurczyk] Because it is somehow difficult to give an answer. The job of the union activist is to defend the working man, and we will always defend him. I would not like to go into details about why that is so or otherwise.

Olechowski's Appointment as Walesa Aide Welcomed

AU2808082992 Warsaw ZYCIE WARSZAWY in Polish 17 Aug 92 p 1

[Jerzy Wysocki commentary: "Olechowski Is Back"]

[Text] Admirers and opponents of Lech Walesa are in agreement about one thing: The president's entourage is small and often incompetent. The gap that emerged when the politicians who paved Walesa's way to the presidency left the chancellery has not been filled. Fears

that a Belweder [presidential residence] that was demanding greater powers was not equipped to bear such great responsibility were fully justified. So, the appointment of Andrzej Olechowski, a politician of undoubted experience in economic matters and one who enjoys the confidence of Western financial circles, to the post of economic adviser to the president is a fitting move.

Lech Walesa possesses sound intuition regarding economic matters. He values freedom and property and is closer to Mrs. Thatcher and Ronald Reagan than to the advocates of the so-called third way. His concepts arouse the enthusiasm of the crowd, but at the same time horror among economists, who interpret them literally. The best example is the famous 100 million zlotys [Z] for everyone. Thus, Andrzej Olechowski's task will no doubt be to throw out the president's bad ideas and provide substance that is in keeping with the law and reality to those ideas that are good.

The Belweder that has frequently talked of the need to construct a program for Poland has acquired the possibility of producing such a program. By exercising its right to initiate legislation, it has the chance to be a coarchitect and guarantor of the state's socioeconomic policy as long as that chance does not degenerate into a dispute over authority between the Belweder and other government agencies.

Walesa: Olszewski's Behavior 'Disgraceful'

LD2708112992 Warsaw PAP in English 1408 GMT 26 Aug 92

[Text] Warsaw, Aug. 26—"Jan Olszewski's latest admission, that from the beginning he knew my file was a fabrication, and on that basis he accused the president of the Republic of Poland (of collaboration with the communist secret police) is quite simply disgraceful," said President Lech Walesa on Wednesday [26 August] in an interview for the BBC and the New York Polish emigre newspaper "NOWY DZIENNIK."

Commenting on the so-called "files affair" which led to the dismissal on last June 5 of Jan Olszewski's five-party minority Government, Walesa said that the release of files relating to alleged informers of Poland's communist security services was an act of "stupidity, obtuseness and treachery."

President Walesa called for great care to be taken in evaluating all the documentary information relating to the role of leading figures during the period of communist rule in Poland. Only after this, he said, would it be possible to decide whether it is in the interests of the state to allow a given person to play a role in public life.

In a reference to Jan Parys and Antoni Macierewicz, defence and interior ministers respectively in the Olszewski cabinet, President Walesa attacked former ministers who travelled to the United States in an attempt to argue their case in Polish emigre circles. "I am ashamed of people who wash their dirty linen in another place, and not with their own hands," he said.

Turning to the present wave of strikes, President Walesa said that there was little political risk associated with them, since none of the strikes had the aim of changing the main direction of Polish politics. However, he acknowledged that there was a need for the present government to take steps to inform and convince Polish society of the correctness of the decisions they were taking. He said that the present cabinet should be given every opportunity to act in this matter.

President Walesa praised Prime Minister Hanna Suchocka as a "talented politician, and a person able to reach understanding with many different political forces. He did not believe that differences of opinion in her cabinet were so great as to threaten it with paralysis. However, he criticised the lack of a general political and economic plan for Poland, the lack of which gave rise to many misunderstandings and controversies.

Finally, President Walesa expressed his respect for United States President George Bush. "He is a great politician who understood Polish issues, and helped us greatly in our revolution (against communism)," President Walesa said.

IMF Guarantees on Economy Criticized

LD2708223792 Warsaw PAP in English 1856 GMT 27 Aug 92

[Text] Warsaw, Aug. 27—The ability of Polish society to add to personal savings has reached a dangerously low point, and the International Monetary Fund (IMF) is one of the parties to blame for this, Deputy Prime Minister Henryk Goryszewski said on Thursday [27 August].

Commenting after his meeting on Thursday morning with Mark Allen, head of the IMF mission to Poland, Goryszewski attacked the IMF and former Finance Minister Leszek Balcerowicz, who in his opinion misled the Poles by promising at the beginning of 1990 that after 6 months of self-sacrifice, the Polish economy would once again begin to grow.

Goryszewski stressed the need for a cautious economic policy which would avoid a recurrence of high inflation. He noted that the estimated 8-10 percent increase in food prices as a result of the summer drought could add about a quarter to the expected annual inflation rate for 1992 of 40-45 percent.

Goryszewski also criticised the impact of high interest rates on the finances of Polish enterprises. He noted, however, that interest rate policy was a matter for the National Bank of Poland (NBP), which as an institution was independent of the Polish Government.

Interior Minister Outlines Scope of Operations

AU2808082392 Warsaw TYGODNIK POWSZECHNY in Polish 9 Aug 92 pp 1, 4, 5

[Interview with Interior Minister Andrzej Milczanowski by Witold Beres, Krzysztof Burnetko, and Jerzy Skoczylas in Warsaw on 23 July: "Was Friedrich Nietzsche Right?"]

[Excerpts] [passage omitted] [TYGODNIK POWSZECHNY] The police, the Office for the Protection of the State [UOP], Vistula Units, Border Guard, Fire Brigade—is not the Interior Ministry still a state within a state? Already during the Mazowiecki Government people wanted to make the Vistula Units independent of the Interior Ministry. That was not achieved because the defense minister at the time was still the communist General Siwicki, and the government wanted to retain at least a symbolic number of soldiers at its disposal. Now everything is ours, but the Vistula Units still belong to the Interior Ministry.

[Milczanowski] The Interior Ministry must be a civilian ministry like any other. Therefore, I repeat, the Vistula Units must be separated from it, as well as the Government Protection Office, and especially the UOP.

[TYGODNIK POWSZECHNY] The left wing has been accusing the UOP of infiltrating political parties. One of us has even been approached by a UOP official and invited to become an informer in the journalistic community.

[Milczanowski] That must have been a very bad, inept official.

[TYGODNIK POWSZECHNY] That is beside the point. The point is that there is a danger of a return to the practices of the old Security Service.

[Milczanowski] But the Security Service was a huge empire, and the UOP is only a young, small institution.

[TYGODNIK POWSZECHNY] Well, all beginnings are difficult.

[Milczanowski] No, it is not like that at all. Being a UOP official is a job like any other, just like being a doctor, an engineer, or a journalist. It involves heavy, difficult work that has to be performed professionally and meticulously, much more meticulously than other jobs. A mistake could causes the state untold damage. Apart from that, it is not just a job, it is service, with all the consequences. [passage omitted]

[TYGODNIK POWSZECHNY] Do you know who wrote "he who does not now how to lie is ignorant of the truth"?

[Milczanowski] I have no idea.

[TYGODNIK POWSZECHNY] It was Nietzsche, in "Thus Spoke Zarathustra." We understand he is your favorite author.

[Milczanowski] I know many quotations from Nietzsche, but this is not one of them. However I can quote you other parts of "Thus Spoke Zarathustra." [passage omitted]

[TYGODNIK POWSZECHNY] Thank you for the interview.

Russian Firm Breaks Contract With Mielec Factory

LD2708133992 Warsaw PAP in English 1918 GMT 26 Aug 92

[Text] Rzeszow, Aug. 26—The aircraft works in Voronez, Russia, have broken the contract signed with the aircraft factory in Mielec, southern Poland, for the delivery of 10 tail plane units for the Il-86 and Il-96 aircraft, the Mielec factory management announced on Wednesday [26 August].

The contract was concluded last year and the order was confirmed last February. The Mielec factory has already started the production of two units.

Agriculture Minister on Private Farming

LD2708135892 Warsaw PAP in English 2126 GMT 26 Aug 92

[Text] Szczecin, Aug. 26—Private family farms should be the basis of the Polish agricultural system, Agriculture Minister Gabriel Janowski said Wednesday [26 August] at a meeting with representatives of agricultural, social and trade union organizations of the Szczecin Province.

But the minister made it clear that he was against reconstructing capitalism in the Polish countryside. He said that in Poland the size of peasant family farms should not exceed 100 to 200 hectares at the most.

Mircea Druc Registers as Independent Candidate

AU2808092292 Bucharest ROMPRES in English 0817 GMT 28 Aug 92

[Text] Bucharest, ROMPRES 28/8/1992—Mircea Druc (ex-premier of the Republic of Moldova) officially registered Wednesday [26 August] evening his independent candidature to the presidency of Romania.

In a brief statement made to the press after the registration, Mircea Druc expressed his belief that the nearing parliamentary and presidential elections will be correct.

Electoral Office Registers Manzatu Candidacy

AU2608173692 Bucharest ROMPRES in English 1637 GMT 26 Aug 92

[Text] Bucharest ROMPRES, 26/8/1992—On Wednesday, August 26 Ion Manzatu officially registered his candidature at the Central Electoral Bureau for the office of Romania's presidency on behalf of the Republican Party. He is the fourth political personality who has gathered the necessary 100,000 signatures.

Dragomir Welcomes Wider Support for Candidacy

AU2708113392 Bucharest Radio Romania Network in Romanian 1000 GMT 27 Aug 92

[Text] This morning, the Central Election Bureau registered the proposal made by the National Salvation Front [FSN] regarding the candidacy of Caius Traian Dragomir for the position of president of Romania.

He was the fifth candidate in the bureau's register after all conditions stipulated by Article 9 of Law No. 69 of 1992 had been met.

In an exclusive statement to our radio station, Dragomir viewed this moment as a transition from the limitations of a party to much wider support from beyond the ranks of the National Salvation Front.

He views the collection of signatures in support of his candidacy as a kind of national reconciliation, first and foremost within the National Salvation Front and everything good it stands for such as youth, Timisoara, and even the University Square on the one hand, and between the National Salvation Front and numerous other parties on the other.

In a news conference also held today, Dragomir said: Today I have again had the feeling that something has radically changed in this country and that this change is due to this party—the National Salvation Front that initiated it.

He also stressed that his candidacy signified an important step toward reconciliation between the spirit of the Front and the spirit of Timisoara. He also expressed thanks to the members of other political parties, such as the National Liberal Party and the National Peasant Christian Democratic Party, which had supported his candidacy, citing it as proof of the widespread desire for potential reconciliation.

'Nationalist-Communists' Accused of Isolationism

AU2808103792 Bucharest COTIDIANUL in Romanian 25 Aug 92 p 2

[Article by Apostol Stan: "The External Perspective of the Election Campaign"]

[Text] Last week, the election campaign went beyond the stage of domestic issues, with the presidential candidates presenting their stands on certain external events and orientations. How does that happen?

The nationalist-communist parties—particularly Romania Mare and the Romanian National Unity Party [PUNR], but also the Democratic National Salvation Front [FDSN]—have tried to convince the electorate that Romania is in great danger of disintegration! In this respect, there was speculation regarding the Budapest World Congress of Hungarians, which, even the Romanian foreign minister claimed, gives rise to great concern! Nationalism-communism—toned down of late—has thus acquired a new impetus, thanks to this foreign event. One should emphasize that, regardless of the consistency and seriousness with which certain Hungarian nationalist extremists at home or abroad go about their job, it was usually the nationalist-communist parties—now, also the FDSN—that reacted exaggeratedly to such acts, with the intent of frightening the electorate. Without denying the fact that certain Hungarians still contest the legitimacy of Transylvania's belonging to Romania, it is quite serious that some people consider that such manifestations, being utopian at best, have a real basis. Although they proclaim themselves champions of patriotism, the nationalist-communists do serious harm to the nation by constantly sowing doubt in people's minds about our existence as a state. Nationalistic furors like those in Budapest and elsewhere thus acquire apocalyptic proportions, particularly if they are correlated with events in Yugoslavia and Czecho-Slovakia, states that were initially set up on confederative bases and are now disintegrating as a result of internal factors that do not exist in Romania.

Instead of presenting clear guidelines for linking the country to the external world, the FDSN, like the old regime, dares to proclaim itself as the defender of the state's interests, allegedly neglected by the Democratic Convention [CD], because the latter includes the Democratic Union of Hungarians in Romania [UDMR] among its members! But is it possible to isolate such an important minority as the Hungarian one, blaming a party with parliamentary representation for alleged intentions, despite its official statements? Of course, it is harmful for the cause of democracy that certain figures of the Hungarian nationality, even if they are isolated cases, are conceiving formulas that are at variance with

the Romanian state framework that guarantees the survival of all ethnic minorities. However, we cannot afford a policy of segregation against the Hungarian minority, which will thus feel alienated. Therefore, it is totally incongruous to accuse the CD, as the FDSN is doing, of lack of interest in the fate of the country's integrity because of its political cooperation with the UDMR.

In their election campaign, the nationalist-communists advocate an isolationist foreign policy, instilling in the minds of the electorate all kinds of imaginary perils, coming particularly from the United States, which, after causing the disintegration of Yugoslavia, is now preparing to proceed in exactly the same way in the case of Romania! While the Stolojan government strives to link the country to Western economic and financial bodies, the candidates of the FDSN and the nationalist-communist parties make a virtue out of propagating a policy devoid of horizons, a policy of reliance on our own forces, that was actually a Ceausescu slogan insistently ventilated in the last years of agony by the old regime, when our foreign links were to a large extent broken off.

In the view of the neocommunists, the promising European-Atlantic links established in recent weeks by the CD—instead of being praised as such, since they greatly bolster the governmental initiatives—are considered serious mistakes, a kind of "enslavement" of our country to the "imperialists" from across the ocean. In the eyes of Caius Dragomir, the National Salvation Front's [FSN] candidate for the presidency, the opening toward the United States achieved by the CD is strangely considered as foreign interference in the electoral campaign!

Therefore, the FDSN, together with the nationalist-communist parties, is striving to limit the external perspective in the current electoral campaign. To achieve this goal, they play on the old fears vis-a-vis the foreign powers, which amounts to ideological repulsion of the "imperialists." Thus, they hope to reduce the CD's impact on public opinion, since the CD has made inroads there, where the current rulers have only registered partial success.

CSS Holds Convention, Backs Reform, Reunification

AU2508190792 Bucharest ROMPRES in English 1712 GMT 25 Aug 92

[Text] Bucharest ROMPRES 25/8/1992—The first Convention of Social Solidarity was held in Bucharest on Tuesday, August 25, two months since its creation and one month before the general elections of September 1992. The Convention of Social Solidarity (CSS) gathered on the occasion 1,135 delegates from 37 counties, the Ilfov agricultural district and Bucharest city included. Participating were also 258 guests among whom the leaders of the major trade union central of Romania: Alfa, Fratia and the National Free Trade Union Confederation of Romania (CNSLR), as well as guests from Podkrepa trade unions (Bulgaria), Katui (Yugoslavia) and from the Republic of Moldova.

The report of the Collegian Council of the CSS on the need to set up the respective political grouping stresses that the CSS is a social and democratic party which backs the speeding up of the creation of a middle class and campaigns for Romania's reunification.

The participants approved the Statute-Programme with the major points of the policy to be pursued by the party in the future: national reconciliation, revaluation of the Romanian state and the continuation of the reform.

During the talks critic remarks were made to the post-revolution governments, the lack of a coherent framework for the application of social protection and the initiation of laws in parliament the speakers considered as anti-trade union.

The request by deputy Claudiu Iordache to withdraw from the CSS leadership was not accepted by the Steering Collegian Committee despite his insistence.

Attending the meeting, Calin Rosetti who has recently given up running in the presidential race stressed that unfortunately he would not candidate on the CSS lists, as he had previously announced, because he had double citizenship which is incompatible with the mandate of parliamentarian.

Stolojan Predicts 2 to 5 Year Transition Period

AU2708173092 Bucharest ROMPRES in English 1702 GMT 27 Aug 92

[Text] Bucharest, ROMPRES, 27/8/1992—In an interview granted on Thursday, August 27, Premier Stolojan assesses that economic transition will last 3 to 5 years when, excepting privatisation, all the other conditions can be put in place to form a new legislative, institutionalized framework.

He also warned that the transition to a new economic society must not be mistaken for economic development, opining nonetheless that the former does not exclude the latter.

"Romania has all conditions to achieve an economic growth," the premier said. "This depends on the accomplishment of the reform, on our integration into the outer world, on economic restructuring."

Theodor Stolojan rejected the criticism against the lack of strategy of his cabinet, assessing that it "gradually attains" the goals of the programme of reform worked out in early 1990 by more than 1,000 experts under the guidance of Academician Tudorel Postolache. He nevertheless admits that, like in the other former socialist countries, in Romania, too, the implementation of the programme of reform has not abidden by the terms set. The cause of this situation could be "constraints" which Stolojan exemplifies with the cancellation of foreign

financing which led to the attainment of the leu-dollar rate of exchange only now instead of March or April as the cabinet suggested.

Speaking also about "a lack of concordance" between the strategy worked out in 1990 and its translation into fact Stolojan shows that the programme included a hypothesis which "seemed feasible" at that time but proved to be "altogether wrong", namely that in Romania transition could be achieved without altering the standard of living because it had no foreign debt and could borrow to import what it needed to reequip its economy.

Government Approves Temporary Subsidies

AU2708115092 Bucharest ROMPRES in English 1047 GMT 27 Aug 92

[Text] Bucharest ROMPRES 27/8/1992—The Romanian Government approved of the completion of the list of raw materials in the extractive industry for which subsidies are temporarily granted from the state budget. Account was taken of the extraction costs of lignite, Banat pit coal and schist, and gold.

Owing to the effects of the unification of the two-tier exchange rate of the leu, extraction costs for these materials exceed the wholesale prices set at the level of external prices and of the official exchange rate. The fact is noteworthy that budgetary subsidies will be covered from the 1992 state budget within the limits approved by the budget of the Ministry of Industry.

* West Cooperates in Romanian Aircraft Industry

92BA1243A Stuttgart FLUG REVUE in German Jul 92 pp 54-56

[Article by Klaus Mueller: "Romania Is Hoping For New Thrust"]

[Text] Romania, associated with the West for decades in aviation and space travel, was the first country of the former CEMA to open up for cooperative work. Construction under license, for example of the BAC 1-11 or the French Puma helicopter, provided access to Western technology. But the final years of communist-planned economy caused the good relationships to atrophy. Now the country is attempting to reactivate those connections.

"In 1991 we earned profits, but our production declined after the revolution." Thus Dan Gozia, general manager of the (currently) state-owned holding company IAROM S.A., characterizes the situation of the aerospace industry in Romania. First of all, of course, the worldwide slump in orders is having its effect here as well, but in addition, orders from the former Soviet Union previously placed in CEMA have disappeared, and Romania's own sharply curtailed budgets, primarily in the military area, have caused domestic sales to shrink. "For example, we built a factory specifically for the Ka-126, but now we cannot find any buyers," says Gozia in his sparsely furnished office in Bucharest. "Until now, 70 percent of our capacity was working for the military, but now it is barely 40 percent, and that is mostly in the area of maintenance and modifications."

Moreover, models designed by Soviet development offices and passed on to Romania as part of CEMA are thinly represented in Romanian industry's production range. At Romaero in Bucharest, with 3,100 employees, repair and maintenance work is being carried out on the An-24 and the An-2, in addition to (licensed) production of the BN-2 Islander and BAC 1-11-495 and -560. Negotiations are being conducted with the Russians about the construction of the An-26, because production of this design in the CIS may possibly be terminated.

IAR in Brasov (3,600 workers) was supposed to build the Ka-126 helicopter, as well as the IAR 330, now equipped with improved avionics, gliders and motorized gliders. This program has been frozen for the time being. Aerostar in Bracau, the largest factory in the Romanian aviation industry with 7,600 workers, is producing the Yak-52 propeller training airplane, whose numbers now exceed 1,600, in addition to components for every model built in Romania since 1979.

Because of the confused political situation in Yugoslavia, production of the jointly developed IAR-93 ground-attack aircraft, equipped with the Rolls-Royce Viper Mk 633 engine built under license, is now on the back burner at the Craiova factory. A limited number of orders is still on hand for the independently developed jet trainer Soim IAR-99, powered by a Viper Mk 632-41M.

In view of the uncertainty about the market in the partner and buyer countries once allied in CEMA, Romanian managers are prepared to make almost any concession. They are not insisting on payment in dollars, which have been elevated to the primary currency even in Eastern Europe. They could even imagine the sale of their airplanes on an exchange basis or as—admittedly problematic—multilateral transactions. For example, they were targeting Bulgaria as a customer for the Rombac 1-11 and, until just a few weeks ago, the now collapsing Yugoslavia. In the CIS, neighboring Moldova is still seen as a possible market. At the moment money is in short supply everywhere, particularly Western currencies that are preferred by Romanian managers.

In order to weather the crisis, the managers of the 12 companies that make up IAROM would be satisfied for the time being with subcontracts from the West. They have the capacity and the skilled workers: "In the final years of the Ceaucescu regime, which were rigidly autocratic, a large amount of money was invested, including and primarily in modern machines. But now there is no money for orders," adds Alexandru Haiduc, Gozia's deputy who is responsible for programs and strategy and, like Gozia, is basically an engineer. Of the more than 25,000 workers currently employed at the IAROM companies 3,500 are university graduates, another 3,000

have completed a technical or managerial education. More than 17,300 trained, skilled workers ensure quality that is acknowledged internationally.

The BAC-11, designated in Romania as the Rombac 1-11, is still being built, although in small numbers; the license agreement had been concluded with British Aerospace in 1979. There are still 50 orders outstanding for the BN-2 Islander, 460 of which have been built since 1969 by the Romaero Bucharest factory, also under British license and mostly sent to Pilatus-Britten-Norman for final outfitting. In the 1970's the Romanian state aircraft industry had already reached an agreement about manufacture under license, initially of Alouette and then of Puma helicopters. The customers for the Puma that was no longer being built in France, had mainly been the Romanian Armed Forces. Now the Romanians are hoping for sales in Third World countries. Discussions are being held at the present time about a program to succeed the Alouette.

With restrained pride the managers display the certificates issued just a few months previously, on which the British licensee attests that their work satisfies Western quality standards. Low Romanian wages and factories equipped with modern machine tools, even if they not have worked at full capacity for a long time, offer good conditions for cooperation with Western partners.

The purchase of three Airbus A310-300 through the Tarom airline could have been the starting point. Competitor Boeing had offered offsetting work for the Romanian industry, in the event that the country decided in favor of the 767. During the negotiations with the Europeans in January 1990 the decisionmaking transport ministry in Bucharest did not consider this aspect; Gozia and Haiduc now regret this "error during the startup phase." Clearly political reasons were decisive in the choice.

Structural Reform on the German Model

The Romanians are looking for contacts with Western, primarily German industry, are talking to a number of companies in Europe and the United States about partnerships in future programs. They could envision collaboration as part of a joint venture or acting as a subcontractor for a regional airliner, helicopters and in the Airbus program. Without going into details about the reasons, they no longer see the British as their ideal partners. They see the reorganization of German Aerospace as a model for their own efforts to put their factories and programs on a healthy economic footing. As soon as the Romanian laws are changed accordingly, an attempt will be made at privatization, at least of those factories that are active in the civilian sphere.

Gozia and Haiduc, as well as the managers of the individual manufacturing plants and Dr. Dan Pantazapoul, director general of ORCAS S.A., the research holding affiliated with IAROM, are building their hopes on the broad foundation of their aviation pioneers from decades past, on their modern factories and on traditionally good relationships with the West. Henri Coanda, who showed a ducted fan engine, the precursor of a jet engine, at the Paris Air Salon in 1910, and the space travel pioneer Hermann Oberth, who is held in high esteem in Germany, were both born in Romania and have not been forgotten. The Brasov factory built the Messerschmitt and Savoia airplanes during World War II. This capital accumulated in the past, it is hoped in Bucharest, should yield returns in a few years, as soon as the situation in aerospace improves worldwide.

Muslim Forces Reportedly Attack UN Headquarters

AU2708201392 Belgrade RTB Television Network in Serbo-Croatian 1730 GMT 27 Aug 92

[Rada Djokic report from Sarajevo]

[Excerpt] [passage omitted] Muslim forces were again hitting the UNPROFOR [UN Protection Forces] headquarters in Sarajevo today.

The Serbian officers from Lukavica have returned to the Sarajevo headquarters of the peacekeeping forces after two days of absence.

Two UNPROFOR airplanes were shot at while taking off and landing at Sarajevo airport from the Muslim district of Otes. At the Serbian side's insistence, UNPROFOR has agreed to find out where the firing came from.

There is a certain lull in the fighting on the Sarajevo battlefield today. Muslim forces shelled Hadzici, Vojkovici, Ilidza, and Ilijas during the afternoon hours.

Early this morning, Muslim special units, together with members of the Croatian Defense Forces, committed a horrifying crime against the Serbian civilian population in (?Hadzici) district near Stup. According to the first and still unchecked reports, it is estimated that this crime will go beyond the crime in Cemerno.

Split-Sarajevo Ground Aid Corridor Opening 28 Aug

AU2708152192 Sarajevo Radio Bosnia-Hercegovina Network in Serbo-Croatian 1300 GMT 27 Aug 92

[Text] A ground humanitarian corridor from Split to Sarajevo is supposed to start functioning tomorrow. As the BH PRESS news agency has learned in the Sarajevo headquarters of the UN High Commission for Refugees, in this way at least five trucks would arrive in the capital of our motherland daily. We have learned from the same source that 18 aircraft with humanitarian aid are expected to land at Sarajevo airport today.

Newspapers Report on Muslim Treatment of Serbs

DELO, 13 August

92BA1332B Ljubljana DELO in Slovene 13 Aug 92 p 2

[By Andrej Gustincic: "Serb, Buddhist, Bosnian Fighter"—first paragraph is DELO introduction]

[Text] Captain Ljubisa Markovic is the only Serb who can go throughout Bosnia with his head held high; the Bihac pocket, the last stronghold between Knin and Serbia.

Bihac, 12 Aug (REUTER)—Emkija Zeric trembles when she remembers how she looked across golden fields of ripe wheat at her neighbors, who were harvesting it. They were completely naked and were working in front of rifle barrels. She was describing the fate of Muslims from the little village of Ripec, only a kilometer away. She saw her own future if the Serbs occupied Bihac.

"I tried together with Bosnian fighters to come across the hills in the red-hot sun to the front line in the northwestern corner of Bosnia in order to find confirmation of her story," reports REUTER correspondent Andrej Gustincic from Bihac.

"We see that they have to work in the fields," said platoon commander Sulja Zeric, who was squatting behind a temporary position with a view of the waving fields and the slopes of the hills that are now under Serbian control.

"We only see dots. We cannot discern from there whether they are naked. Sometimes, because of fear, you see more than there really is."

Emkija, however, is afraid, and her fear is derived from what she saw for herself was happening in these villages, and from the stories of terrified refugees who are fleeing from the "Bihac pocket," one of the last areas still under Bosnian control. This fear is felt by 300,000 Muslims, who constitute 82 percent of the population in this area, which is in the Cazin Krajina. These people saw how many of their relatives were driven from their homes by Serbs.

The Bihac pocket, on one hand, borders on the Una River, but it is also surrounded by the occupied territories of Bosnia-Hercegovina and the hostile hills of the Knin Krajina in neighboring Croatia, i.e., territory that is also held by the Serbs.

If the Serbs carry out their policy of "ethnic cleansing" in this territory, the largest exodus of refugees in Europe since World War II may happen, in the opinion of the peacekeeping forces and representatives of international aid. Since the Serbs have control over the neighboring area and over Knin, which is under UN protection, the Bijac pocket is a Bosnian island and extremely important, since it lies along the railroad line between Belgrade, Banja Luka, and Knin.

There is no electricity virtually anywhere in this territory, and there are no telephone connections with the outside world. Amateur radio operators handle wireless communications with Sarajevo. Only a triangle remains under Bosnian control. Its three corners are Sarajevo, Tuzla, and Zenica. The rest of Bosnia-Hercegovina is either under Serbian occupation, or in the hands of Croatian forces, whose loyalty to Sarajevo is predominantly only nominal. The soldiers who march in single file through the furrowed hills and fields overgrown with dandelions, through dense forests and over steep slopes, are convinced that they will defend the Bihac pocket.

They crawl or run through undefended towns over which sharpshooters have a full view, and, whispering to each other, exchange reports in trenches from which one can observe the Serbian fighters who are creeping through the corn at a distance of about 500 meters.

"These are Cetniks, not Serbs," says Captain Ljubisa Markovic during a pause in the walk. The difference is important to Markovic, because he is a Serb by nationality, a former officer in the Yugoslav Army who stayed in Bosnia to fight together with the Bosnians after the army withdrew from Bihac in April.

"I am the only Serb who can go through Bosnia with his head held high," Markovic said, and pointed to two figures that were moving at the edge of the field of corn.

The Bosnians sought cover behind trees and in trenches. "We must not shoot at them, because that would betray our position," Markovic reminded them.

Markovic is not only a Serb by nationality, but also a Buddhist. He claims that this religion helped him to recognize the truth, and he joined the Bosnians. Markovic is characteristic of the varied company of people who have taken arms to defend the Bihac pocket, and are arming themselves as best they can.

Tomislav Dretar, a poet and chairman of the local Croatian Defense Council, says that weapons can be captured or bought. The black market does not make political or ethnic distinctions. "I bought an antiaircraft machine gun from a Serb for 5,000 marks," Dretar said. "A Serb from Knin carried it to me in pieces over five days. When I told him that I would use it to shoot at his people, he answered that it did not bother him at all."

He also said that his people were buying rifles, mortars, and howitzers from Knin Serbs who were concluding private transactions in Bihac.

In Cazin, which is 98-percent Muslim, the mood of the tough leaders is unshaken. They claim that all Bosnia will be liberated from Cazin. They are considered the most extreme Muslims in Bosnia-Hercegovina.

"The UN representatives wanted to convince us to evacuate women and children," said Mohamed Osmanagic, chairman of the local government.

POLITIKA, 15 August

92BA1352B Belgrade POLITIKA in Serbo-Croatian 15 Aug 92 p 8

[Unattributed article: "From State Documentation Center Material: Patients Beat Up Wounded Serbs, Too"—first paragraph is POLITIKA introduction]

[Text] Milan Dragas was wounded by a sniper's bullet, but at the hospital he was beaten up by Muslims, sustaining a broken nose. Josip Pejakovic in the administration of Central Prison in Sarajevo.

The treatment of Serbs in Sarajevo hospitals is indicated by the following examples, according to a document by the Center for the Investigation of War Crimes. Milan Dragas (1958) was wounded by a sniper's bullet in the Marijin Dvor area while trying to get someone to the former Military Hospital. He was transported to the Kosevo Hospital, where he suffered new bruises and injuries. Specifically, the doctors gave him a certain amount of help, but Muslim patients broke his nose and inflicted on him serious injuries that caused impairment of vision. After that, he was arrested and taken to Central Prison, where he was again mistreated by prison ruffians Slavko Herceg and certain individuals known as Fuda, Refik, and Dari.

Jovan Matovic (1957) was wounded in the town of Dobrinja while taking the garbage out of his house. At the health center in Dobrinja, he was given first aid and then transported to Kosevo Hospital, where he experienced the same treatment as Milan Dragas, but without any serious consequences. He was arrested and escorted to Central Prison, where the treatment was repeated. The same accusation was always voiced: snipers, Chetniks, terrorists.

Prison Managed by Exconvict

At the beginning of the war, or as soon as the first Serbs were brought in, a Sarajevo criminal, drug addict, and exconvict was appointed administrator of Central Prison: Ismet Barjamovic, also known as Celo, who has personally taken part in the arrest, detention, mistreatment, and murder of arrested men and women of Serbian nationality.

Also in the administration of the prison was Sarajevo actor Josip Pejakovic. The commander of the fifth floor, where women are held, is Sulejman Horo, the son of Ramiz, from Foca. A certain Kemo specialized in the rape of minors, girls, and young women; a certain Fudo assembled an entire collection of gold jewelry from female detainees, the price of avoiding obligatory rape; a certain Jusufovic, son of Esma, arrives at the prison as if it is a recreation center—in a sweat suit and sneakers, and with a towel—to commit severe violence against the detainees. It is demanded of the arrested citizens, under the threat of physical violence, that they sign a statement and appear with it on a program on Sarajevo Television, as from the darkest chapters of prison practice. According to witnesses who passed through that prison, five or six Serbs of various ages lose their lives there every night, only to be replaced the very next day by more innocent, arrested citizens. The only crime committed by 67-year-old Jelisavka is that a page from some book of Serbian songs was found in her apartment. The only crime committed by V.N., a 16-year-old girl, is that she is of Serbian nationality and that some evil-doer from the prison wanted to sexually abuse her.

Stadium Converted Into Camp

The stadium in Kosevo has been converted into a concentration camp through which more than 6,000

Serbs have passed. The majority of them have been allowed to go home, and at this time it is hard to estimate how many civilians are there.

Since its establishment, the abandoned Viktor Bubanj Barracks has been known as "Juka's Prison," after its first administrator, Jusuf Juka Prazina, commander of the special units of the armed forces of Bosnia-Hercegovina and appointed to this post by the B-H Presidency. According to statements by more than 10 witnesses, Prazina has personally killed more than 30 civilians of Serbian nationality. One of the sites of Juka's misdeeds was even the Borsalino cafe. At this camp, besides unheard-of physical mistreatment, people are also subjected to torture through the denial of food and water, as well as exhausting physical labor, as in the Nazi camps during World War II. More than 200 men and women of Serbian nationality are continuously imprisoned and subjected to torture at the abandoned Viktor Bubanj Barracks. When they are brought onto the prison grounds, detainees are met by guards with dogs. In the prison, there are 12 cells for men and seven for women, where the head is a certain Mirela. Many wives of active or retired military personnel in the former JNA [Yugoslav People's Army] have been subjected to torture in this camp: Ravijojla Dzepina; Saveta Ninkovic, a retiree, and her husband; retiree Vida Babic from Grbavica; the senile Gospava Brakus (1916); Ilinka Rajic (1918); Nada Przulj (1943), the commercial director of a firm involved in the medicine trade, and her husband, Miroslav Przulj; Stana Miljic (1946); Marica Rozalija Selimovic (nee Nadj), charged because she helped a Serbian family leave Dobrinja for Lukavica; a certain 60-year-old Jovanka from Skenderija, who previously underwent torture with the dogs in Central Prison and suffered personally at the hand of Jusuf Prazina; Radinka Odzakovic (1970), a retarded girl who had graduated from the school for retarded children, who was charged with being a sniper and, as a wounded casualty, was especially mistreated and shown to reporters for foreign television; Nedjo Mihajlovic, arrested on 13 June in Dobrinja where he was twice wounded while performing prison "work duty"; Ranko Milosevic (around 24 years old), whose crime is his last name. Right before a prisoner exchange, this prison quickly fills up with new detainees, despite the fact that they are completely innocent.

Since mid-month, a tunnel in the district of Ciglane and an underground nuclear bomb shelter in the vicinity have been converted into a camp for Serbs. Thus far, a very small number of people have managed to get free from it, and those who have been released testify that they were forced to give blood for wounded Muslims.

POLITIKA, 16 August

92BA1352C Belgrade POLITIKA in Serbo-Croatian 16 Aug 92 p 10

[Unattributed article: "From State Documentation Center Material: Arrested 'Because They Are Serbs'"—first paragraph is POLITIKA introduction]

[Text] "Because they are Serbs." This was the only explanation given by members of the Muslim military police while taking people away to improvised prisons; hotels converted into brothels for Serbian girls and women.

Mass arrests of Serbs in the town of Dobrinja began in mid-June, and the first to go were intellectuals and prominent citizens of Serbian nationality. A search of Serbian apartments was carried out, under the pretext of "looking for weapons," and it was ordered that lists of Serbs be drawn up. Nedjo Mihajlovic, the director of the Dijamant enterprise, was arrested at that time.

The same group of Muslim military police that arrested Mihajlovic on 13 June, which included a certain Goran (formerly a teller at the central Sarajevo Jugobanka), a certain Alija (a former employee of Bosnalijeka and registered as a mental patient), a certain Mirsad, and a certain Huso (formerly a warehouse clerk for Jugokomerc in Dolac Malta), assigned to headquarters in Dobrinja 5, on 21 June arrested Nedjo's wife Milena Mihajlovic (1951) and Radomir Secerov (1946), the head of the agrometeorology division at the Hydrometeorological Institute of B-H, followed by Malisa Mandic, an electrical engineer. On 9 July they arrested Radomir's wife Nevenka Secerov (1951), Gordan Draskovic (1963), his wife Tatjana Draskovic and brother Zoran Draskovic (1966), a certain Ms. Mandic, leaving her eight-year-old daughter alone in the apartment, Sava Sumara, a teacher, and about 10 other unknown Serbs from Dobrinja.

During the arrests, for which only one explanation was given—"because you are Serbs"—the telephones in everyone's apartments were disconnected, which was the responsibility of a certain Sime, a former waiter at the PTT Engineering restaurant.

Cells With Bloodstained Walls

Those arrested were first taken to TO [Territorial Defense] headquarters in Dobrinja 5, or to the headquarters of the Military Police in Dobrinja 2, and then to one of the many basements converted to prisons. One prison that has been identified, located under the Privredna Banka, the former Sunce department store, comprises three large cells with bloodstained walls and rooms for guards. Numerous murders have been committed in these prisons; several "suicides" by detainees have also been recorded, but all the prisoners are subjected to unheard-of physical and psychological mistreatment, torture, hunger, and light deprivation. After a few horrible days, the survivors are taken to the abandoned Viktor Bubanj Barracks or to Central Prison.

Young women and girls of Serbian nationality in Dobrinja are subjected to rape in their own apartments. At the end of June, there was a case where a girl was murdered in Dobrinja 5, entrance F-7; raped and completely nude, with her tongue cut out, she was thrown outside and then hit with rifle fire in the space between

buildings, where the body lay until noon the next day. This loathsome act was attributed to Serbs from nearby Nedzaric (!).

At the Hotel Zagreb on Marijin Dvor, a brothel of arrested Serbian girls and women has been set up for members of the Territorial Defense and the various Muslim militias. The famous Hotel Evropa has also been converted into a brothel for Serbian girls and women, near the Bascarsija. In mid-July 1992, Muslim extremists in the town of Breka killed the father and mother of Sanja Mikic and took the girl to the Hotel Evropa.

Around 1 May 1992, there were already 500 to 600 Serbian refugees in Bradina from Konjic, Mostar, Bijelo Polje, Jasenjani, Jablanica, Ostrosac, Dobrigosac, Pozetva, and Nevzrak, primarily women and children. During the first half of May, another 1,000 or so people fled to Bradina from Ljuta, Zlatar, Brdjani, and from the burned-down towns of Blac and Dzepi.

Zvonko Zovko, the son of Pere-Percan, a member of the Ustashi armed forces during the Second World War, in his capacity as commander of the Croatian Defense Council [HVO] and accompanied by 10 or so Croats, including Andjelko, nicknamed Prinke, a businessman from Podorasac, and with Muslims from the towns of Bale Zukici, Podorasac, and Repovci, including Meho Alibegovic, a trucker from Repovci, (?) Mandzuka and his son (?), both truckers from Repovci, all together around 100 armed men, attacked Bradina on 12 May.

The Suffering of the Town of Bradina

Until 25 May, Bradina was pounded continuously by heavy artillery, and then it was attacked from all sides by Muslims from the towns of Repovci, Bulatovci, Tuhobici, Visnjevice, and the Buturovic Polje area, together with Croats from Buturovic Polje, Tresnjevica, and places in western Hercegovina, among whom were the brothers Zdenko and Ivica Grbavac, the sons of Rudo from Ljubuski.

Zdenko Grbavac participated in the war in regions of Croatia, from where he moved several plundered cars, various technical goods, and valuables into Hercegovina, some of which he resold even in the territory of Konjic opstina. The two aforementioned Croats, who are related to Mate Boban from Grudo, handled the bulk of HDZ [Croatian Democratic Community] financing in Konjic, and provided arms to Croats.

From the direction of Konjic on the day in question, Bradina was attacked by mounted Muslims, Muslims from the towns of Brdjani and Dzepi, and Croats led by Zvonko Zovko, who according to testimony of Ljiljana, daughter of the late Bogdan Gligorevic, and the brothers Ahmet and Asko Jusufbegovic, sons of Avda, decapitated Sretko Rade Kuljanin, also known as Beko, on Bratosovo Hill with his own two hands. They kicked the head around the cavalry market, and then mounted it on a stick.

From the direction of Crveni Stijeni and Laniste, Bradina was attacked by Muslims from the towns of Glavaticevo, Bjelimici, Humoljani, Lukomir, Spiljani, and Cuhovici.

From the direction of Sarajevo, the attack was carried out by Muslims from the towns of Fazaric, Osenik, Luke, Tarcin, Japalaci, Budmulici, Gornja Bioca, Duranovici, Trzanjk, and Vukovici, reinforced by around 800 "green berets" from Hrasnica, and members of the HVO from Kresevo....

POLITIKA, 17 August

92BA1352D Belgrade POLITIKA in Serbo-Croatian 17 Aug 92 p 7

[Unattributed article: "From State Documentation Center Material: Camp for Serbs Converted to Execution Site"—first paragraph is POLITIKA introduction]

[Text] Dead refugees were buried with steam shovels on the grounds of the Orthodox church. Mass killing of people after severe mistreatment. Arsonists looted valuables.

According to estimates by witnesses, around 3,500 to 4,000 people participated in this attack, assisted by heavy artillery. Fifty-seven Serbs who were in Bradina as refugees were killed. They were buried by Muslims using steam shovels on the grounds of the St. Spasa Orthodox Church in Bradina.

Around 150 people then took flight in several groups, setting out in various directions. The next day in Bradina, 150 to 200 men, Serbs, were taken as prisoners, together with the majority of women, children, and old people. Of the prisoners, Gojko Save Miljanic and Petko Pavla Gligorevic were killed, both retirees from Bradina. Also killed were the two sons of Strahinja Zivak, Boro Draganic (an invalid) and his young son, as well as Vaso Petra Vujicic. Miljanic and Gligorevic were killed with blunt objects, and the others were shot after severe physical mistreatment. The Muslims and Croats took the other prisoners to a passageway under a tunnel in Bradina, forced them to take off their clothes, and mistreated and beat them in various ways for a full six hours, without interruption. They forced them to kneel and to sing Muslim hymns and prayers.

Horrors in the School Building

On 27 May, the prisoners were jammed onto trucks and driven to a collection camp for Serbs in the town of Celebici. The camp is located on the site of an abandoned, underground military warehouse. Miroslav Jove Vujicic (1968) was killed at the camp, and around 1,000 women, children, and old people were imprisoned in an elementary school building in Bradina. There, the women were raped; among those raped were M.D., the wife of D.D. (1968), N.I. (1955), and a married woman who was a refugee from Potoci, near Mostar. Several girls managed to escape. Those who remained were

covered up at night by their mothers, who lay over them. The commander of the camp was Hamid Spiljak.

On 28 May, all the women, children, and old people were moved to the Sports Center building at Musala in Konjic.

The looting and burning of Serbian houses began on 26 May. On that day, all of Donja Bradina was burned to the ground, except for the house of Radomir Kuljanin, which was burned down the next day with the owner in it. On 27 May, Zagradac, Polje, and Barakusa were looted and burned. In her brother-in-law's isolated house, the property of Sreta Nikolini Kuljanin, 86-year-old Sava Gligorevic, the widow of Salonika veteran Djordje, was burned alive. On 28 May, Gornja Bradina and Krc were looted and burned. In Podgaj, the house of the Mrkajic sisters—Milka and Ana, about aged 50, who lived on social security—was burned down. On 29 May, the village of Jasika was looted and burned. On the same day in Krc, the last house was looted and burned down, the property of Nikola Jovanovi Gligorevic, and in the process the 80-year-old Malina Gligorevic, Jovan's widow and Nikola's mother, was physically mistreated; she died from her injuries on 7 June. The total number of burned-down family homes is around 300. Stables and secondary structures on the property have also been burned down, frequently with livestock in them. The arsonists took with them food, household appliances, valuables, cars, and agricultural machinery. At night, they drove away the livestock.

List of Victims From Donja Bradina

Of the more than 100 Serbs killed in Donja Bradina, the following victims have been reliably confirmed: Kuljanin Mijata Mile, Kuljanin Relje Radenko, Kuljanin Relje Pero, Kuljanin Ratomir (burned in his house), Kuljanin Bore Slobodan, Kuljanin Sime Drago, Kuljanin Drage Gojko, Kuljanin Drage Milenko, Kuljanin Branislava Goran, Kuljanin Milorad, Kuljanin Vase Nedjo, Kuljanin Radmila Milorad (killed at the camp in Celebici), Kuljanin Rado Srecko, Zuza Trifka Vaso, Zuza Bozidar Branko, Zuza Steve Todor, Zuza Steve Jovo, Mrkajic Mirko, Mrkajic Mirka Zoran, Mrkajic Save Spasoje, Mrkajic Djoke Pero, Mrkajic Scepo (killed at the camp in Celebici), Mrkajic Ilija (an invalid, killed at the camp in Celebici), Mrkajic Djordja Pero (killed at the camp in Celebici), Gligorevic Jovana Nikola, Gligorevic Mirka Borislav, Gligorevic Sava (burned to death at Sreta Kuljanin's house), Gligorevic Pavla Petko (killed at the camp in Celebici), Djordjic Petra Marko, Koprivica Bore Njegos (a minor), Draganic Boska Nedjo, Zivak Save Veseljko, Zivak Andjelka Zdravko, Zivak Cede Tomislav, Zivak Strahinje Velimir, Zivak Strahinje Slobodan, Savic Relje Boro, Vujicic Petra Vaso, Vujicic Petra Dragan, Vujicic Jove Miroslav (killed at the camp in Celebici), Kures Bogdan, Miljanic Save Gojko (killed at the camp in Celebici), and N.N., a charred body found in the cafe of Sreten Zelenovic.

Members of units of the B-H [Bosnia-Hercegovina] TO [Territorial Defense], which according to statements by witnesses included Beslija Nusret, Durak Enos, the Pavlovic brothers, Simo and Stjepan, a certain Zoren, a certain Spahic (or Selmanovic, the son of the man known as Karabeg), in the early morning hours of 10 May 1992 attacked the Serbian town of Cemerno and killed 31 members of the Serbian nation while seriously wounding many others.

The following were killed: Bunjevac Acim, Bunjevac Milos, Bunjevac Mirosava, Bunjevac Ranko, Bunjevac Slavojka, Trifkovic Milinko, Trifkovic Milinka Rajno, Trifkovic Janja. On that occasion, six Serbian fighters were captured: Djurdjic Gojko, Malesevic Zarko, Malesevic Milovan, Jankovic Sreten, Jentic Radomir, and Micic Nenad, who were first disarmed and then forced to strip and, after unheard-of mistreatment, they were shot on the spot, contrary to all conventions concerning the treatment of prisoners of war.

On that occasion, the town of Cemerno was burned to the ground. The material of the State Documentation Center for the Investigation of War Crimes Against Members of the Serbian Nation contains further testimony from Gorazde, Breza, Capljina, Konjic, Modrica, Travnik, Tomislavgrad, Foca, Visoki, Kljuc, Tarcin, Trnovo, Gacko, Pazarici, Ljubuski, Zenica, and Bratunici.

Government Economic Plan Outlined

92BA1332C Ljubljana DELO in Slovene 6 Aug 92 p 3

[Article by Ilja Popit: "Reducing Social Costs—first paragraph is DELO introduction]

[Text] Mitja Gaspari: The government, together with the Bank of Slovenia, has already adopted several measures for general improvement of the economic situation; more careful investment of budgetary money; the Slovene state will assume the claims against Iraq.

Ljubljana, 8 Aug—At today's meeting the government discussed several points associated with the plan that Davorin Kracun discussed about 14 days ago. This plan links the financial rehabilitation of banks with the financial rehabilitation and privatization of enterprises, and also with a social net that is supposed to mitigate the consequences of these two programs. Slovenia has to start these things as soon as possible if it wants to minimize social expenditures in the economy and the noneconomic sector resulting from the past structure and inefficiency of enterprises and other organizations. This program also says that the government will adopt several macroeconomic measures, both across-the-board and individual ones, in order to start this process, all within the government's legal framework for adopting individual resolutions and decisions, Finance Minister Mitja Gaspari stated at today's press conference.

Gaspari then listed those acts and their contents. With respect to macroeconomic policy, the government, together with the Bank of Slovenia, has already adopted measures that are yielding initial results and that are important for general improvement of the economy's financial situation. This has to do with the exchange rate policy, since a reduction in the exchange rate means a substantial improvement in the financial situation of exporters, as can be verified by experience.

When the Assembly was discussing the law on the interest rate, the government decided that because of the law and because of its own policy, it would take appropriate measures in interest policy for commercial banks. It adopted a decision that encouraged banks to provide lower interest rates to those 12 percent of the banks that are classified among the bank's best customers, i.e., that are classified in groups A and B.

The banks responded favorably to this government decree and to the government's agreement, which it sent along with some other conditions to the banks for adoption. "The first responses are already in, and I think," Gaspari said, "that this measure will go into effect in August, especially since the government will also support it through an appropriate policy for investing its own money with those financial organizations and banks that accept that proposed cooperation. This is the first step in the direction that will make it possible for the money collected in the banks to end up in the economy."

The Republic of Slovenia, its budget, and the funds are now weighing more carefully where they will invest their financial resources. They have thus started to take the recommendation into account and are not giving their money to the care of those banks that have more than 10 percent of their tolar credit potential in interbank financing. As a result of this there has been a major reduction in interbank interest rates in the interbank market. This interest was thus still between 25 and 30 percent 14 days ago, but according to the latest data available to the government, at the end of last week the real interest rate at an annual level is only ranging from 10 to 16 percent. Gaspari stated that this was an extremely positive shift, which was not just a consequence of the change in the banks' behavior, but also of the corresponding government policy and also those institutions that the government can influence favorably, such as the different funds, especially those which deal with retirement and health insurance. "For this reason," Gaspari said, "I do not see any reason why several other interest rates, especially those for short-term loans to good borrowers, would not fall as well."

Interest rates are to stabilize at a level that, from the standpoint of the rate of inflation and its reduction, will stimulate the financing of those individuals or economic organizations that have a future, and will revive their business, gain new markets, and consolidate themselves financially. Of course, we are thus also reducing the number of those enterprises that are supposed to be brought back to health individually on the basis of the program that the government has adopted, which is to be carried out by the Development Fund and the Privatization Agency. Specifically, the government's intention is to have the overall costs of restructuring, from society's standpoint, as low as possible. "We think," Mitja Gaspari said, "that these short-term interventions are not ordinary interventionism, but rather," as he stated, "subtle interventionism, because it reduces the social costs of those interventions aimed at the thorough restructuring and privatization of enterprises, in which, of course, the state's costs will not be negligible. Through these measures, the state's costs will be reduced in the long term."

Along these lines, today the government also adopted a draft law and several resolutions, namely a draft law on buying claims against Iraq and the Federal Directorate for Supply and Procurement. The government will propose this draft law to the Assembly at its next session in September. The law is supposed to regulate the issues of the noncommercial risks that have affected manufacturers and enterprises from Slovenia.

In fact, transactions with Iraq have been completely stopped, not just for commercial reasons but also because of the blockade imposed by the UN, which does not seem likely to end soon, because of Iraq's indifferent attitude toward the UN.

Regarding the claims that Slovene enterprises have in several other markets, such as the area of the Soviet

Union, Kuwait, etc., the government thinks that they can perhaps be paid differently, and there is no reason for it to assume them immediately or in their entirety right now. The Republic of Slovenia will thus assume the claims against Iraq. It will buy them at a 20-percent discount off the acknowledged claim, i.e., its face value, with bonds issued for this purpose, which will be denominated in ECU's [European Currency Unit] but will be paid in tolars. The payment period for the bonds will be seven years with a two-year moratorium, and an annual interest rate of 7 percent.

The extent of the claims against Iraq will be determined by the Bank of Slovenia, and on this basis the government will specify the amount up to which it will issue the bonds. These things will be precisely specified by two articles in the law, since only the NBJ [National Bank of Yugoslavia] and the Federal Directorate know the extent of these claims, and they have yet to be determined in Slovenia. The Finance Ministry will therefore regulate the submission of documentation very precisely, in order to prevent the same claim from being presented twice or more, and to prevent possible evasion of this regulation. On behalf of the Republic of Slovenia, the finance minister will conclude contracts for the purchase of claims under this law, and issue a more detailed regulation on the means of accounting for these claims.

This measure is necessary, and it is limited to what is justifiable; it will help several enterprise that have gotten into serious difficulties because of events that are not of a commercial nature, partly to recover financially, without finding themselves in individual rehabilitation proceedings through the fund and the agency.

This matter has to be regulated by law. The law will be accompanied by a resolution on what will happen with the postponed taxes and contributions from 1990 and 1991 that were not paid in time. The obligations of insolvent legal persons resulting from unsettled taxes and contributions upon the payment of personal incomes for last year, and proposed and postponed interest, will be postponed until 1 October 1992. Until that time, specifically, the Ministry of Finance and others are to prepare a proposal for collecting or rescheduling these obligations.

Specifically, today the government approved a competition for individual financial rehabilitation and privatization, for starting privatization proceedings at individual enterprises. The competition will be announced in a few days, and will start to operate at the end of September. That is why the government also postponed the payment of obligations from unsettled taxes until the beginning of October. After that deadline, in fact, they will be able to determine which enterprises have registered for the competition and also help them with possible further postponements, whereas the overdue amount will be collected from others at a real interest rate of 12 percent, either on behalf of the budget or on behalf of the bankruptcy fund. This, however, does not apply to contributions from 1992.

The third resolution that the government adopted today is the scheduling of a competition for assistance in carrying out the restructuring and financial rehabilitation of enterprises. The assistance is intended for enterprises that think that it is the state's fault that they cannot resolve accumulated structural and other difficulties. The conditions for participating in the competition will be published in more detail in the next few days. The fund will have groups of experts who will check the proposed programs for curtailment and recovery, etc.

As of 1 October, the government will also start to repeal the law on the moratorium on bankruptcies, and those who have no possibility of surviving will go into bankruptcy. For others that have recovered, the Financial Rehabilitation Fund will carry out a thorough restructuring, and will prepare everything necessary for their privatization.

Serbia

Bozovic: Territory Will Not Be 'Dismembered'

LD2708221292 Belgrade TANJUG in English 2041 GMT 27 Aug 92

[Text] Smederevska Palanka, August 27 (TANJUG)—Serbia will not allow at any cost that its territory be dismembered under international pressure for an alleged protection of minority rights in its provinces of Kosovo-Metohija and Vojvodina, and in the region of Raska (Sandzak), Serbian Prime Minister Radoman Bozovic said during talks with businessmen in Smederevska Palanka, a town in central Serbia, on Thursday [27 August].

Serbia will not accept that its territory be torn apart, and no tariff concessions or trade subsidies offered by the West can compensate it for that, said Bozovic during a discussion about economic problems in the situation of economic blockade.

In May 30, the United Nations Security Council proclaimed strict sanctions against the Federal Republic of Yugoslavia, i.e. its republics of Serbia and Montenegro. Since then, the international community has been adding new conditions for their lifting.

Evidence of UN Embargo Violations Reported

AU2708151392 Munich QUICK in German 27 Aug 92 pp 24-25

["Exclusive" report by Josef Hufelschulte and Walter Stroh: "The Merchants of Death"]

[Text] The heat makes us tired and lazy. The guard prefers to stay in the shadow and sullenly waves us through. We have made it. We drive into the Danube port of Belgrade, cameras hidden under the car seats. Taking photos is absolutely prohibited. Everywhere there are turnpikes and checks, armed people's militias are patrolling.

There is much to hide. We are eyewitnesses to how the economic blockade imposed by the United Nations against Serbia is broken every day. We can see how useless the embargo has been so far, which is supposed to force the warmonger Serbia to its knees in economic terms.

Belgrade port records:

Two cranes are hoisting thick rolls of steel sheets off Romanian trucks. Supplies for the armament industry, for the construction of tanks.

The massacre in Bosnia is just 90 km away. Thousands of dead, hundreds of thousands are on the run.

Fork-lift trucks unload Bulgarian trucks, crammed full with machinery parts. On the other side lead plates are being stowed—important for the production of cartridges and bullets of all kinds.

Hidden behind rusty containers, we discover a truck from Linz. And Austrian blockade runner?

A call to the company Bachmaier and Brandstetter in Linz later on clarifies the issue. We introduce ourselves as businessmen and ask: "We have computers, machinery, and spare parts. Can you take the goods to Belgrade?"

A Miss Strasser says this is possible, no problem.

Question: "And what about the embargo, how can it be circumvented?"

Miss Strasser says: "One has to declare the entire shipment as immigrant's effects."

It is so simple. In Germany, there are heated discussions about controls by warships in the Adriatic, where only 10 percent of all goods to ex-Yugoslavia come from, anyway....

The blockade runners have a far easier time by taking the Danube. It is an international waterway. After World War II, the littoral states, such as Hungary, Romania, Bulgaria, and Yugoslavia, agreed on letting ship transports pass without any major checks. Now the rulers in the Danube city of Belgrade are benefiting from this.

At least four heavy ships with weapons, oil, and machinery reach Belgrade every day or are already unloaded at the Romanian-Serbian border at Turnu Severin.

The senders of the lethal arms shipments are known: "They are Lebanese militias, officers from several East Block states, and the Mafia," Paul Beaver, publisher of the renowned London military magazine JANE'S DEFENSE WEEKLY, knows. James Gow of the Defense Institute of London University says: "There is a gigantic black market with weapons from the former Warsaw Pact states. Most of these deals are concluded in Austria." But in Belgrade, too, dark embargo deals and mean war deals are conducted.

In a luxury hotel shady guys are hiding in the remotest corner of the entrance hall. The gentlemen wear fine suits and drive heavy BMW and Mercedes limousines with 12 cylinders. The deal is conducted discretely, the issue is a delivery from Sweden.

We ask: "Is business good?" The answer are angry, threatening looks.

A change of scenery. We are in Jimbolia, Romania, 140 km from Belgrade.

Children with torn shoes are staring at us. We pretend to be tourists. Exile Romanians in Graz gave us the tip: Weapons are secretly smuggled into Serbia via the border railroad station of Jimbolia. The recipients: murderous chetniks.

The air-to-ground missiles, submachine guns, and guns from the arms factory Plopeni near Ploiesti are transported in the freight cars of passenger trains—as camouflage. At night, the cargo slips through the checks as an alleged shipment of wheat.

Serbian tanks will continue to roll—this is ensured by an entire fleet of truckers, who bring 4,000 tonnes of fuel to

Serbia from Greece and Macedonia just on one day. The embargo does not bother anyone. Customs officials are bribed or forged freight papers are issued. Thus, a shipment of diesel fuel, which is supposed to go to Osijek in Croatia, ends up in Belgrade in Serbia.

Belgrade trucker Milan does not think anything of camouflage. We meet him at the Romanian-Serbian border at Jimbolia. He is having a break, playing cards with a colleague.

We ask him: "What do you have in your truck?"

Milan grins, says in broken German: "Have machine parts, from Timisoara."

That is in Romania. When we say "embargo" Milan laughs out loud. "What about embargo? Embargo not strong. Serbs are much stronger, must fight." The killing continues.

Macedonia

Human Rights Party Leader Wants Bulgarian Support

AU2808073792 Sofia OTECHESTVEN VESTNIK in Bulgarian 18 Aug 92 pp 1, 3

[Interview with Ilija Ilijevski, chairman of Party for Human Rights in Macedonia, by Velizar Enchev, in Belgrade; date not given: "Bulgaria Must Help Us"]

[Text] Last year Ilija Ilijevski, chairman of the Party for Human Rights in Macedonia, was in the focus of public attention in Bulgaria, after he openly described himself as a Bulgarian. After these words unprecedented for Macedonia, Ilijevski's passport and identification papers were unlawfully taken from him, and the police authority in Strumitsa has refused to return them, despite the blatant violation of the Constitution. However, today little is written about Ilijevski. Why?

[Ilijevski] The Bulgarian media has forgotten about me but it does not surprise me. Bulgarian policy toward the Bulgarians in Macedonia this century was often inconsistent, and their problems were often ignored whenever domestic circumstances and foreign factors prompted Bulgaria to do so. I have no information that Bulgaria raised the issue of the Macedonia authorities' extremely inhuman attitude toward me during President Kiro Gligorov's visit to Burgas.

[Enchev] How do the members and supporters of your party in Macedonia view this?

[Ilijevski] In Macedonia there are many people who know the truth about their ethnic origin. Seeing how Bulgaria treats me they would say: "If Ilija, who openly struggled for his Bulgarian name in Macedonia, is not respected by Sofia, it means that it is not worth struggling." Bulgaria has not responded to my request for Bulgarian citizenship, and this surprises me very much.

[Enchev] You have been unemployed for years. How do you manage to carry on party activity? Where do you find the money?

[Ilijevski] I do not want to complain, but I cannot hide the fact that it is very difficult for me. Our party members, who live throughout Macedonia, help us. Let me clarify that we have not only Bulgarians, but also Albanians, Turks, and Gypsies among our party members. We struggle for the defense of the human rights of all citizens of Macedonia. However, the fact is that only the Bulgarians in Macedonia continue to be treated as criminals, without rights. The Albanians and Turks have or can have the right to self- determination and the right to approach international institutions, while the issue of the Bulgarians in Macedonia is wrapped in silence. It will probably be the same at the London conference. When will Bulgaria raise its voice in support of the Macedonian Bulgarians? When will it allow Macedonian Bulgarians to study free of charge at the Bulgarian universities? When will Sofia learn the simple truth that the key to resolving the problem of the Macedonian Bulgarians is in Sofia rather than in Skopje or Belgrade....

[Enchev] How do you view Yeltsin's decision to recognize the independence of Macedonia?

[Ilijevski] This is an historical event and I immediately sent the Russian Embassy in Belgrade a special letter of thanks. The Russian president decided to recognize Macedonia precisely in Sofia. This showed the world that Bulgaria had made the greatest contribution to Macedonia's independence.

[Enchev] Do you expect any assistance from Bulgaria? I ask this because friends of yours in Sofia last year promised to give you a telefax, typewriter, and other office equipment, but for the time being you have only their promise....

[Ilijevski] Serbia openly finances its parties in Macedonia. I mean the League of Communists, the Movement for Yugoslavia, the Party of the Yugoslavs, the Reformers Party, and the Alliance of Serbs and Montenegrins. The authorities in Skopje do not consider this a sin, despite the fact that they know what the final goal of the assistance is—to return Macedonia to Serbia and to turn its population to Serbs. What prevents a Macedonian party which struggles for Macedonia's independence and democratic future receiving at least a typewriter from abroad?

[Enchev] What results could a referendum on the national self-determination of Macedonia have?

[Ilijevski] If voting is secret, and before that the television censorship is eliminated, thousands of people will declare themselves as Bulgarians. The authorities themselves admit that the positions of so-called Bulgarian chauvinism are strengthening in Macedonia. This is the best recognition of the strength of the roots of Bulgarian consciousness.